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# CRUZ DAS ALMAS A BRAZILIAN VILLAGE

by

DONALD PIERSON

*with the assistance of*

LEVI CRUZ, MIRTES BRANDÃO LOPES, HELEN BATCHELOR  
PIERSON, CARLOS BORGES TEIXEIRA, AND OTHERS

*Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of  
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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,  
Washington 25, D. C., June 24, 1949

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Cruz das Almas: A Brazilian Village," by Donald Pierson, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 12 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,  
*Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.*

\* \* \*

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Houses and House Use of the Sierra Tarascan, by Ralph L. Beals, Pedro Carrasco, and Thomas McCorkle. x+37 pp., 8 pls., 20 figs. 1944.
2. Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village, by Ralph L. Beals. x+225 pp., 8 pls., 19 figs., 5 maps. 1946.
3. Moche: A Peruvian Coastal Community, by John Gullin. vii+166 pp., 26 pls., 8 figs., 1 map. 1947.
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## PREFACE

This study constitutes a part of the joint program in which the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution and the *Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política* of São Paulo are collaborating. The primary objectives of this program are the training of local research personnel in social science methods and techniques, partially in the classroom but more especially in the field, the meanwhile research is carried on with reference to Brazilian societies and cultures.

It is now becoming more widely known that, in both area and population, Brazil constitutes approximately half of the South American continent; and that, in language, in various other cultural elements, and in certain circumstances of its formation, this vast and increasingly important country varies from the rest of Latin America.

Although the development of industry, especially in the São Paulo-Rio de Janeiro region, has been increasingly evident in recent years, Brazil is still a predominantly agricultural country. Its rural population is therefore of especial significance.

The present study seeks to reveal the life of rural people in the hills not far from the city of São Paulo. Although relatively isolated, they participate in what might be called the national culture; that is, with reference to language and other basic cultural elements, they do not constitute a people apart. In fact, with the exclusion of what might be referred to as "Indian country," their way of life is characteristic, to a considerable extent, of all rural Brazil.

There are, of course, significant regional variations. In certain parts of the country, like, especially, the *Reconcavo* of Bahia, the coastal region of Pernambuco-Alagoas-Sergipe, the southern portion of the State of Minas Gerais, and areas around Campos in the State of Rio de Janeiro and São Luiz in Maranhão, a larger portion of the cultural and associational system is African in origin; while in other parts like, for example, central and northern Goiás and the State of Mato Grosso, a larger portion is of Indian derivation. In certain

parts of southern Brazil, especially the valley of the Itajaí in Santa Catarina and the valley of the Jacuí in Rio Grande do Sul, the European contribution of other than Portuguese origin is pronounced; and in areas like that of the valley of the Ribeira and the "Alta Sorocabana" in the State of São Paulo, the Japanese contribution has been considerable. In areas where circumstances of a different geographical character are particularly operative, like those of the semiarid Nordeste; the humid, heavily timbered area of the Amazon and its tributaries; the grasslands of the central, southern, and western states; and the coastal belt, where fishing is an important means of sustenance, other significant variations are to be found. In certain other parts of the State of São Paulo, agricultural development is further advanced and is otherwise of a somewhat different character. A considerable part, however, of that which is here set down with reference to the local society and culture, is probably characteristic of the rural population in all Brazil, outside the principal cities and those regions still inhabited exclusively, or almost exclusively, by tribal Indians.

With the assistance of a graduate student, Carlos Borges Teixeira, a survey of southeastern São Paulo and contiguous areas in the States of Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro was made in the latter part of 1946 and the first month of 1947. A number of small settlements, ranging from fishing villages on the coast like Icapara in the State of São Paulo to mountain towns like Paraisópolis in Minas Gerais, were visited. Preliminary information was obtained on the origin and development of each settlement and its ecological base, society, and culture (Pierson and Teixeira, 1947).\*

This survey indicated that, even in the more isolated areas, and in spite of a biological heritage in which the Indian figures to a considerable extent, the process of "Europeanization" is far advanced; that is, that Portuguese culture, modified, of course, by the interaction of its culture bearers

\* References in parentheses refer to Bibliography, p. 220.



over a considerable period of time under the conditions of a new habitat, has almost completely replaced the indigenous culture. Not only have comparatively few of the original Indian techniques survived, but also little of such tenacious elements as folk beliefs and the practices associated with them. It is in the less obvious and more subtle aspects of culture, in the attitudes, sentiments, and points of view which a people reveal to the outsider only upon intimate contact, that there are more likely to be found vestiges of Indian origin.

On the basis of this survey, the village of Cruz das Almas was selected as the settlement which, in the plateau region, seemed best to combine the necessary circumstances of a comparatively long history, uninterrupted by significant intrusions from the outside, a considerable degree of Indian ancestry in the population, and an absence of industrial activity in the area, to reveal the basic cultural patterns of the region, previous to modification under the impact of an industrial order. It also had the practical advantage of accessibility from São Paulo so that those students who were unable to be away from the city for an extended period of time might also participate in the research.

Accordingly, a house was rented in the village and Carlos Borges Teixeira resided there from February 1947 through August 1948, during which time he gained the confidence and respect of the local inhabitants and came to participate intimately in their society and culture. As he became known and accepted in the community, other graduate and undergraduate students visited the village, especially on week ends and during holidays. In this way, a promising foundation was laid for systematic field work.

Students began by keeping a diary, in which there was set down everything observed in the community which seemed interesting or important. When the author was unable to be in the field, Carlos Borges Teixeira and other students returned to São Paulo each week or two to discuss observations made during the preceding period. As there emerged out of this descriptive data a clearer picture of the relative values of the different cultural and associational elements, subsequent work was planned in terms of more systematic analysis.

Especially in the early stages of the study, the approach was thus kept as empirical as possible, in an attempt to avoid implanting upon the subject matter, any more than could possibly be avoided, a preconceived system of descriptive and analytical categories which would result merely in illustrating what was in our minds beforehand. This does not mean that we began work without a frame of reference or hypotheses and that our interest was only in piling up discrete and unrelated "facts." It was rather that we felt that organization of data, insofar as possible, should *emerge out of* reality, rather than be imposed upon it, especially since we were working with a cultural and associational system which previously was unknown, in considerable part, at least to the author. In other words, the on-going life of the community was given a determinant role in the systematization designed to make the "facts" intelligible and communicable.

During December 1947 and January and February, 1948, the author and his wife, aided especially by Carlos Borges Teixeira and Maria Mirtes Brandão Lopes, and also by Oz Francisco Leme, Cecília Maria Sanioto, and Lizette Toledo Ribeiro, carried on systematic interviewing on farms in the community. The men in the group, who usually were not over two in number at any one time, interviewed the farmer in the field among his crops, while the women, also usually not over two in number at any one time, remained in the house, conversing with the farmer's wife and daughters. Since comparable data of a statistical character with reference to a considerable number of items was desired, a schedule was used by the men. The interviews at the house, however, were all carried on without a schedule, although specific questions to be asked were determined beforehand. Later that year, especially in June and August as well as on several week ends and holidays, further systematic interviewing was carried on in the village and on the farms.

Subsequent to his enrollment, in March 1948, as a graduate student at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política, Levi Porfírio da Cruz was closely associated with the study, spending a number of week ends in the field, as well as the vacation months of July and December of that year, and otherwise assisting with the collection and verification of data.



Perhaps as much effort went into checking materials as into their collection. Accounts given by one informant were constantly checked with accounts given by other informants. In the preparation of the manuscript, considerable care was exercised in the use of such words as "often," "sometimes," "most," "many," "several," and "few," so as to describe as precisely as possible the degree of variation from universality. When, during the writing of the monograph, doubt arose regarding the accuracy of a statement, other members of the research staff were consulted. When these doubts could not be resolved, a return was made to the field.

The experience of preparing the monograph for publication strengthens the conviction that the author has long held regarding the value, if not the absolute necessity, that one or more of the persons undertaking any research project be intimately familiar from birth with the society and culture in question, so that the subtle meanings of cultural forms which may escape the outsider, and which conceivably may be among the most important elements of that culture, will more likely be discovered and given the description and analysis which they merit. From this point of view, the program of the Institute of Social Anthropology is especially fortunate, in that it involves, as has been indicated, close collaboration between persons from indigenous as well as United States institutions.

To protect the anonymity of informants, especially in consideration of the intimate character of much of the data here presented, their names, as well as the name of the village itself, are fictitious. In large part, however, the names used for local individuals, as well as that used for the village itself, have at one time or another been employed in the community.

To hire the services of informants, which ordinarily is, in the author's opinion, a precarious procedure in any case, is virtually impossible in this culture. In most cases, no amount of effort will persuade a local inhabitant that, by talking to a researcher, he has merited any remuneration whatever. The offer of payment is apt to be considered an insult or at least to imply hidden motives which by reason of their obscurity are to be feared. Even gifts to informants must be presented with tact, so that the recipient does not

feel under the obligation of making a gift in return. One of the most effective techniques in this respect is to present informants with photographs, taken of themselves, of some member of their family or of something which they own and prize.

Whenever a word or phrase has been introduced into the account to support general statements or to make the account more understandable, the translation has been made literally, if it was thought that such a version would be of particular interest or utility; in most cases, however, translations have been made freely, in order to give as nearly as possible the precise meaning in English. No attempt has been made to translate such terms as *alma* and *santo*, although in each case there exists an English equivalent, since to do so would convey to the mind of the reader, especially in the United States, a context of meaning diverse from that which adheres to the Brazilian equivalent. Perhaps it should also be emphasized that when a local word or phrase is retained in the text, variations from standard Portuguese usage, which one familiar with the language will at once note, are due to the fact that the word or phrase is given in the *caipira* dialect. Accents occasionally have been added to Portuguese words even when they are not commonly used in Brazil so as to aid the English reader in the pronunciation of terms which may be unfamiliar.

Records were taken of the estimates, made by farmers, of the yields of the various crops grown in the community. Since, however, informants are little given to thinking in such terms, the data so obtained, until they are checked by actual measurements which it was not possible to undertake during the course of this study, are probably not accurate enough to be included.

To the many villagers and members of farm families who, with unfailing courtesy and consideration, received the author and his wife, as well as other members of the research staff, and who gave unstintingly of their time and information, I am deeply grateful. Once their confidence has been gained and the motives in asking questions identified, the rural people of Brazil are among the most willing and articulate informants it has been my privilege to know.

To the administration of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política, and especially to its director,



Cyrc Berlinck, who has always accompanied with interest and understanding, efforts to carry on research in the social sciences, as well as A. R. Müller and Octávio da Costa Eduardo, I am under particular obligation for unfailing support and encouragement.

For assistance in selecting the locus of study, I am indebted to a former student and present colleague, Mario Wagner Vieira da Cunha. For suggestions regarding possible sources of information regarding the history of the area studied, I am grateful to Affonso de E. Taunay, Sérgio Buarque de Hollanda, and Caio Prado Junior; and for assistance in obtaining such information, to Padre João Kulay, of the Arquivo of the Curia Metropolitana of the city of São Paulo, Paulino de Almeida, director of the Seção Histórica of the Arquivo Público of the State of São Paulo, and Conego J. de Castro Nery. For assistance in identifying the wildlife common to the local habitat, I am indebted to Dom Bento Pickel of the Serviço Florestal, Eduardo Navaças of the Instituto Biológico, Carlos de Cunha Vieira, Messias Carrera, Maria Aparecida Vulcano d'Andretta, and Antonia Amaral Campos of the Departamento de Zoologia, all of São Paulo. For assistance in obtaining statistical data, I am grateful to Olavo Batista Filho of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Manoel Dutra R. Perdigão and Odete Terezinha Wilmers of the Departamento de Estatística, Mario Zaroni of the Secretaria da Agricultura, Manoel Siqueira of the Secretaria da Fazenda, and Antonio Florencio of the Superintendência do Café, all of São Paulo. Father Gregory Feige assisted in the identification of terms used in connection with religious ritual and belief. Obviously, however, no one but the

author is responsible for any inaccuracies which may occur.

Maria Mirtes Brandão Lopes typed most of the field notes of the research staff, as well as the final draft of the manuscript. Both she and Levi Porfirio da Cruz read the entire manuscript and offered valuable criticism. Were it not for the fact that monographs in Portuguese, based on our common field notes, to be submitted to the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política of São Paulo as theses for the master's degree and subsequently published, are planned by both, these collaborators might well figure as coauthors of this publication. Juarez Rubens Lopes spent several week ends in the field and also assisted in the collection of data available in the city of São Paulo. Fernando Altenfelder Silva and Mauricio Segall visited the community, and the former, together with Paulo Eduardo da Costa, aided in the collection of information which was available in public depositories in the capital city. The notes of the preliminary surveys referred to above were typed by Maria Aparecida Cardoso. Approximately 30 of the photographs appearing in the plates were taken by Harald Schultz and about an equal number by Levi Cruz; several others were taken by Carlos Borges Teixeira. The figures were prepared by Duflo Rizzi and Mario Augusto Pinto. My wife, Helen Batchelor Pierson, has been an invaluable assistant, both in research and in the preparation of the manuscript.

Additional materials were collected, especially on the relation of the individual to culture and the treatment of disease, which probably will be published later.

DONALD PIERSON.

SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL,  
*June 1949.*







MAP 1.—South America, showing Brazil and the State of São Paulo.

# CRUZ DAS ALMAS: A BRAZILIAN VILLAGE

BY DONALD PIERSON

## THE VILLAGE

Six miles from the Brazilian seacoast at Santos, an escarpment rises abruptly 2,400 feet. This is the edge of the vast Brazilian *planalto* which extends interior 400 miles to the Paraná Valley in the west and 1,300 miles to the Amazon Basin in the north. Up on the plateau, 24 miles from its edge and in the midst of gently rolling hills, lies the modern city of São Paulo, with nearly two million people and a rapidly expanding industry which has made it the principal industrial center of Latin America. Her inhabitants proudly call São Paulo the "fastest growing city in the world."<sup>1</sup>

Starting as a brook in the mountains 60 miles to the east of the city, the historic Tietê River flows shallow and sluggish through the metropolis. It then continues on in a generally westward direction toward the Paraná, where its waters, a portion of which have come interior almost from the very rim of the *planalto*, turn and flow southward and finally, after having traveled some seventeen hundred miles, reach the Atlantic below Buenos Aires in Argentina. It was this river which served as the main artery of advance to the west for the famed *bandeirantes* who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries periodically set out from the region around São Paulo to explore, and to some extent to exploit, immense areas in the center of the South American continent: hardy adventurers who penetrated previously unknown areas as far west as Peru, as far south as Paraguay, and as far north as the edge of the Amazon Basin. The first towns to rise along or near the banks of this river, historic settlements like Parnaíba, Itú,

Porto Feliz and Tietê, became important *boças do sertão* (gateways into the wilderness).

Westward from São Paulo, the Tietê River is followed rather closely by a dirt road which is rough and dusty or muddy with the season. Within a few miles, the terrain begins to turn more rugged until by the time one has reached Paratinga, he is in the midst of quite hilly country. From here a well-worn and occasionally rough trail leads over the hills. At times this trail is wide enough to accommodate the two wheels of an oxcart; then the vegetation closes in for a while and first one track and then the other disappears in the weeds and tall grass. At the end of this trail, nestling among the hills of the Serra de São Francisco, less than a hundred miles from the eastern rim of the vast Brazilian *planalto*, lies the village of Cruz das Almas which everyone in the area around calls simply, *A Vila*, or "the village."

If one prefers, however, on the way out from São Paulo he may continue on from Paratinga 9 miles to Piracema and then, by doubling back on the second arm of a V, reach the village after 7 miles. The advantage is that the road from Piracema, although rough and uneven, is wider and clear of vegetation. One may also reach the village by another and longer road from São Paulo, now kept in quite good repair, which runs some miles to the south of the river. At Boa Vista, one turns northward to take a rather rugged dirt road over the hills 11 miles to the village.

A railroad also runs out from São Paulo in the same general direction. A 2-hour ride brings one to a small town hidden in the hills, São José dos Patos, where he may be able to arrange a horse to take him over the steep hills 9 miles to the village.

<sup>1</sup> There is some justification for this statement. The population in 1872 was only 31,385; in 1890, 64,934; in 1900, 239,820; in 1920, 579,053; and in 1940, 1,318,539. It is estimated to be at present (1948) 1,881,566.



If he prefers, he can continue on a few miles to Boa Vista where he may be fortunate enough to find a truck going to the village; or, by paying a rather high fare, he may hire an automobile to take him there.

When the Tietê River reaches the town of Paratinga, it is only 12 miles east of the village and at Piracema only 7 miles away. Soon thereafter it bends to the north, then again to the west, then to the south where it passes to the west of the village, before once more continuing on its generally westerly way toward the Paraná. The river thus creates to the north of the village a "peninsula" approximately 4 miles long and an equal distance wide, a part of the community where the river has, as it were, trapped the population. There are no bridges here of any kind for many miles. The river is passable by canoe or row boat, but only in the dry season. At the most southerly point of the curve, a shallow creek flows into the river. Three miles up this creek is the village.

From the right bank of the creek, the village spreads out over a gently rising slope up toward the ridge where the cemetery is located. The principal street, called the *Rua da Penha*, connects the cemetery at this end of the village with the church which faces it at the other end, near the creek. A third of the way up from the church, the *Rua da Penha* is joined by a road which comes in from Boa Vista. At nearly the same spot, it is joined by another road which comes in from the opposite direction after following a generally northward course from São José dos Patos.

This central pattern of a rude cross as seen from the cemetery is elaborated in three respects: an oblong *praga*, known as the *Praga da Matriz*, leads off the *Rua da Penha* to one side of the church; a short street, the *Rua do Pasto*, leads off this *praga* and roughly accompanies the creek as it flows away from the village; another short street, the *Rua Nove de Julho* parallels the *Rua da Penha* from the church up to the São José dos Patos road.

The *Rua da Penha* takes its name from *Nossa Senhora da Penha*, to whom the village church is dedicated; the *Praga da Matriz*, from the church itself. The *Rua do Pasto*, or "the Street of the Pasture," apparently led originally to a community grazing ground on the outskirts of the village. The *Rua Nove de Julho* (July 9th St.) commemo-

rates the São Paulo uprising of 1932. All the streets are of dirt. An occasional sidewalk of broken stone is wide enough only for one person to pass at a time.

Immediately behind the church and across the creek, a grass-covered hill rises some two hundred feet. At the opposite extremity, as has been indicated, is a ridge. At the other two sides of the village, the land also slopes in from surrounding elevations. The village thus lies in a hollow between ridges and hills. From whatever angle it is approached, one comes upon it suddenly, almost unwarned by any evidence of its existence.

That the inhabitants of the village live close to the soil is symbolized in their dwellings. The houses settle down into the surrounding vegetation and tend at times almost to disappear. The once reddish-brown tiles have mildewed or weathered into a dark gray or greenish-black color which blends into the trunks and branches of the trees and shrubs. The bare mud walls of those houses which are without calcimine resemble closely the earth from which they have come. The bricks of other houses are naturally of the same reddish-brown color as the soil of which they have been made. Even those dwellings which have been calcimined in white or pale yellow, with the passing of time and the accumulation of dust, also look much like the earth around them. It almost seems that the village and its surroundings are one, houses and vegetation blending into each other and both into the earth from which they have sprung.

On Sundays, when the farm families come in to Mass or to make purchases at the village stores or to visit their relatives and friends, and on days of *feira*, there is considerable movement in the village. Ordinarily, however, the streets are largely deserted. Only an occasional man or boy may be seen walking along or going into one of the stores. Two or three men or (more rarely) a group of men may be talking quietly together. An occasional horseman rides into the village. On rare occasions, an oxcart appears, creaking on wooden axles, or perhaps a truck. The children play quietly at their homes; only occasionally are they to be seen in the street. Women also are seldom seen. They keep pretty much to their houses, appearing only when one or more of them have to go down to the creek to do the washing or to



one of the stores to make purchases or when a passing truck or automobile attracts peeping eyes to the windows.

A few hours after sundown silence settles over the village. A single light can be seen shining through the upper window of the church. A few last purchases are being made at the stores. By 8 o'clock or shortly thereafter, they will be closed. The lantern in the *bar* will continue to throw its light out into the street for perhaps another hour when the *bar* too will close and then only the moon, if it be up, and a wakeful dog or two, will be at vigil. The rest of the village is asleep.

The silence is so intense that the chirp of a cricket can be clearly heard. The sound of footsteps on gravel of a man coming home late from visiting friends or from a fishing or hunting expedition falls heavily on the ear. Before daybreak the next morning, the crowing of cocks and the voices of early risers echoing outside the window, awaken one who is accustomed to the noises of the city more quickly than the city's roar.

In the community of which the village is the center, live a few hundred of those several million Brazilians who are the rural inhabitants of a predominantly rural people. Biologically and culturally they represent to a considerable extent the nonurban population of the vast area between the eastern coast and the westernmost point of settlement. Although there are clearly defined regional variations, this population has much in common. In general, it is composed of relatively isolated, nonliterate (or only partially literate) descendants of assimilated Indians, mixed in varying degrees with Europeans and, in many cases, with Africans. Although there are regional variations in the number of words and expressions of Indian or African origin which are commonly employed and also other dialectal differences, the language throughout this area is basically Portuguese. And although from region to region the Indian or African contribution to the culture and to the forms and processes of collective life vary, these also are extensively, and in most cases basically, European.

With the development of the cities a class of cosmopolitan character has emerged whose members are in direct contact with such world centers as New York, London, and Paris. If it may be said that this class represents the "icing" of

the Brazilian "cake," the rural inhabitants constitute its solid substance.

These rural inhabitants are known by different names in different parts of Brazil, all of which emphasize their rural and largely nonliterate character. In the area under study, they are called *caipiras*, a term which distinguishes the rural inhabitants of the São Paulo *planalto* from the *caçaras* of the coastal shelf of this State. The difference in terminology, however, defines only a limited difference in the character of population, society, or culture.

The last Indian in the region is said to have died in a public institution of a neighboring town several years ago. No present resident has known Indians in the community. The vestiges of Indian culture which still persist are extremely few. The population, however, gives evidence of a considerable contribution of Indian blood to its highly mixed but predominantly European character. The African contribution, which for the most part has been more recent and is more visible, has not been negligible. Few vestiges of African culture, however, still persist. It would seem that the cultural imperialism of the Portuguese, a partially conscious, partially unwitting process, has been as effective as their deliberate policy of racial mixture. Freely mixing with other peoples, they nevertheless have maintained rather tenaciously their own culture: modified in parts here and there, it is true, by contact with Indian and African forms and, even more importantly perhaps, by the interaction that has proceeded under the conditions of the new habitat, but still basically European.

The development of the means of transportation and communication in this region during recent years has been breaking down isolation. At the same time, the inhabitants of this community are still to a considerable extent culturally isolated from the influence of the cities, although economically and politically they are being more and more drawn into the larger society. Mobility, although apparently always considerable and although increasing in recent years, is still comparatively low and literacy is limited. The society is relatively simple and homogeneous and is based largely upon kinship, *compadres*, and status relations. Contacts within the community are almost exclusively primary. Interpersonal relations are informal, in-





timate, intense, sentimental, relatively complete and permanent and an end in themselves. Individuals tend to meet one another at most, if not all, points in their lives and intimately to share each other's experiences. Customs ordinarily have the weight of many years of repetition behind them; they are relatively uniform and crystallized into patterns known and, in general, accepted by all members of the community. The number of Alternatives, in the sense in which Linton has used that concept, is limited (Linton, 1936, pp. 273-275). The culture thus has a high degree of equilibrium and stability and channels pretty largely the habits of all individuals. It is handed on from generation to generation principally by way of spoken language and other simple gestures.

Consequently, one finds here a relatively high degree of social solidarity and stability and a cor-

responding minimum of social change. The society, the culture, and the personalities whose interaction constitutes the society and not only is conditioned by the culture but also produces it, are relatively well integrated. As is therefore to be expected, indices of social disorganization are almost lacking; there is a maximum of personal accommodation, a minimum of change in the habits of the individual during his lifetime and consequently a minimum of individualization and personal disorganization. Although these general statements not only will be elaborated but also, quite necessarily, considerably qualified in the course of this account, it may be said that we are dealing here with a society which is predominantly characterized by primary relations, a still largely folk culture, and personalities ordinarily well integrated.

## ROOTS IN THE PAST

An account of the past in this community can be given only, with any adequacy, after a thorough sifting by historians and other scholars, of the documentary evidence available in Brazilian and Portuguese archives. Some of this arduous labor has already been undertaken by Brazilian writers. Interest has been centered, however, at least so far as this area is concerned, either in the biography of famed personages or the details of governmental or ecclesiastical administration. It is to be hoped that the comparatively recent shift in attention among Brazilian scholars—a shift evident in varying degrees in the work of such men as Capistrano de Abreu, Pandiá Calogeras, Gilberto Freyre, Roberto Simonsen, Caio Prado Junior, Afonso de E. Taunay and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda—will afford in the near future a more adequate understanding of the underlying ecological, economic, and sociological processes throughout Brazilian history, of which the personages involved are the symbols and instruments.

In the course of this study, available published materials were consulted and as much time and energy as possible also were given to looking over ecclesiastical and governmental documents in local

depositories.\* At least the general outline of the past in this area seems to be clear.

The present population is derived from Indian, European, and African sources, extensively mixed together. The earliest inhabitants of whom we have record were the Guayaná and the Carijó. They are known to have been in the region at the time the first Portuguese found their way up from the coast on to the "plains of Piratiníngá" where the city of São Paulo was founded. It is probable that one or both of these groups hunted, fished, and perhaps had small clearings for planting in the precise area under study. Stone implements, evidently once used by Indian inhabitants, are occasionally found in the community.<sup>1</sup> Place names are predominantly from the language the Carijó spoke.

Carijó is the name by which the Guaraní were first known to Europeans (Metráux, 1948, p. 69).

\* Some of the records of this area probably were destroyed in a fire which occurred in the *Câmara Episcopal* of São Paulo in 1889.

<sup>1</sup> Due to the belief, however, that these objects are *pedras de raio* (literally, "stones from the lightning"), they are feared by the inhabitants and, upon being found, are usually taken immediately and thrown into the river or a nearby creek. Rarely does one of these implements come into the hands of someone who understands its origin and preserves it. (See fig. 1.)



The latter term came into general use only in the seventeenth century. At the time of first contact with the Europeans, the Carijó occupied the Brazilian coast from what is now Rio Grande do Sul, north to the southeastern tip of what is now the State of São Paulo, a point immediately south of the community under study. From the coast, they spread westward to the Uruguay, Paraguay, and Paraná Rivers. They are said to have been less warlike than the Tupí. Either they did not practice ritualistic cannibalism as did the Guaraní elsewhere, or early had abandoned this custom in southern Brazil (Von Ihering, 1906, p. 15). There is a record of the Carijó having taken refuge with the Portuguese at São Paulo in 1609 after being "cut to pieces" by the Spanish (Actas da Camara, etc., 1596-1622, p. 239).

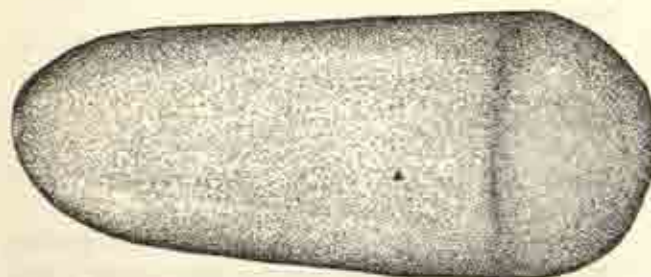


FIGURE 1.—Polished stone celt ( $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size), used by indigenous Indians. Called by present inhabitants *pedra de raio*, or "lightning stone."

The first Portuguese to penetrate interior from the coast found the Guayaná living on the *planalto*. In old documents, they are variously referred to as Guayanáz, Guayná, Goayanaz, Goyaná, and Wayannaz.\* Like the Carijó, they are reported less given to warfare than the coastal Tupí. They materially aided the Portuguese who founded the city of São Paulo. Tibiriça, one of their chiefs, played an important role in the affairs of this Portuguese settlement.

As late as the last century, the term Guayaná was still being used in the State of São Paulo to refer to Indians living at Itapeva and Faxina (Von Ihering, 1906, pp. 10, 23). In 1882, however, Telemaco Borba introduced the term "Caingang" to refer to these and other related non-Guaraní peoples in São Paulo and the other southern states

of Brazil. He was shortly followed in this usage by Visconde Eschagnolle Taunay and other scholars, and the term Caingang has now come into rather general use.

Shortly after the Portuguese began to establish themselves on the plateau where the city of São Paulo subsequently grew up, a number of Guayaná withdrew from close contact and settled in villages at Pinheiros and São Miguel, the former of which is now a suburb of the metropolis. In 1580, other Guayaná, fleeing from a severe epidemic<sup>2</sup> of dysentery at São Paulo which was killing off large numbers of Indians, settled in four different localities at varying distances from São Paulo, around each of which subsequently developed a present-day town. One of these settlements was located on the Anhemby (today Tietê) River a few miles from the community under study. Some time later, the Jesuits made of this village an *aldeamento*, or one of their centers for catechizing the Indians, similar to those around which grew up the present-day towns of Carapicuíba, Mboi (Embú), Itapeceirica, Itaquaquecetuba and São João de Pereibe in the same State (Arouche de Toledo Rendon, 1863, p. 207). In 1612, 600 Indians were reported to be living there. In 1633, however, as a part of the struggle then going on between the Jesuits and the other colonists, the *aldeamento* was assaulted and "the *padres* expelled, the furniture of the church and school broken up and thrown away, the chapel closed and the Indians carried off." Subsequently reestablished at a nearby site under Portuguese Government supervision, this village in 1700 had 403 Indians and was the largest of six similar settlements in the vicinity of the town of São Paulo.

The Portuguese first appeared on the coast at São Vicente in 1531. Their superior techniques, especially of warfare, soon made them ecologically dominant in the region. Subsequently, the native Indians were employed, either in exploring the interior, where they acted as guides, hunters, carriers and warriors, or to care for fields and livestock on the farms of European settlers. Opposition was met with superior force, and hostile Indians were either destroyed or expelled further and further into the interior. A system of slavery emerged whose abuses both state and

\*In published accounts, the "x" is sometimes substituted by "s." In modern Brazilian spelling, the "x" has been substituted by "l."

<sup>2</sup>Another serious epidemic among native Indians is reported in 1635.



church subsequently sought to regulate. The competition between the Jesuits, who wished to settle the Indians in villages under their constant instruction, and the other European colonists, who desired slaves to work their fields or to aid in the exploitation of the interior, eventually led to serious opposition, violence, and the final expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil in 1759. The Portuguese Government, hampered by distance and inadequate means of communication, also sought to regulate the relations between Indians and colonists by settling the Indians in *aldeias* under appointed administrators or apportioning them to individuals as *administrados* for whose well-being they presumably were responsible to the crown.

Miscegenation between Portuguese and indigenous Indians began with the arrival of the Europeans and continued extensively until the native peoples, as a distinct group, had disappeared from the region. From this race mixture, there gradually emerged what Paulo Prado has referred to as "a new race," the *Paulista*. (Prado, 1934, p. 21.) As in other parts of Brazil, amalgamation continued, although perhaps to a more limited extent, with the subsequent importation of Africans. It is probable that in few places in the world has the fusion of peoples of diverse racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale as in this country (Pierson, 1942, especially chs. 4 and 5).

When the first Europeans actually settled in the specific area under study is unknown. In 1561, the Tietê River was descended from São Paulo by an armed expedition sent out by the governor-general of Brazil, Mem de Sá, in which the famed Jesuit missionary, Padre Anchieta, participated. This expedition passed along the margin of the present community and reached Porto Feliz below it. With the second visit to São Paulo of Mem de Sá, in 1567, the distribution of lands to Europeans was speeded up.

In 1590, gold was discovered on the margin of the present community and this led "to a veritable mania of mining," as one writer puts it. "Fascinated by gold," Europeans got themselves *batéas* and set to work panning the rivers, creeks, and "even the washings of rain water" in the vi-

cinity.<sup>4</sup> Imaginations were fired by this and other similar discoveries in the region. In March 1607, an expedition "for the discovery of gold, silver, and other metals" composed of "forty or fifty" Europeans and "a large number" of Indians set out to penetrate as far as possible into the interior.

In 1619, three land grants were made to settlers in or near the area under study. At that time, mention was made of Europeans already living in the area. Following a severe feud between two São Paulo families, the Pires and the Camargos, which broke out in 1641, several "notable personages" from the defeated family settled on the Tietê River near this area and land taken up by these settlers, either at that time or later, extended over into the present community. One man is reported to have had 500 Indian slaves, two others to have had 100 each and a fourth, 115. The town which grew out of this settlement subsequently came seriously to rival the town of São Paulo. As one writer put it, "they had everything which São Paulo had: nobles, Indians, mixed bloods, a church and a *Camara*."<sup>5</sup> Vigorous opposition soon developed on the part of residents at São Paulo whose leaders sought unsuccessfully to prevent this settlement from being recognized as a *vila*, of equal standing with their town. These early settlers were soon joined by others, several of whom bore names which subsequently became famous in *Paulista* history.

The economy of the region, previous to the coming of the Europeans, was largely extractive in character, although to some extent also agricultural. Fish were taken from the streams and game and fruits from the virgin forest. Patches of timber were cleared, fired, and used for planting.

The Carijó made considerable use of traps. They are known to have grown maize, beans, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea* spp.), papaya, wild pineapples, tobacco, and sweet manioc. They are said to have had a dozen recipes for preparing maize. Salt was not used. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. A *tambetá* made of resin was worn in the upper lip. Fur mantles were used. Each fam-

<sup>4</sup> Local residents recount an unsuccessful attempt subsequently made with primitive instruments to straighten a bend in the Tietê River and thus expose the bed for a considerable distance for gold panning.

<sup>5</sup> Legislative body.



ily occupied a separate hut. Wooden mortars were made of logs. The platform bed and mat were used for sleeping. Pottery was limited and simple.

The Guayana collected the *jaboticaba*,<sup>\*</sup> *pitanga*, *araticum*, and papaya, the roots of the *caraguatá*, pine nuts, wild pineapples, honey, and the larvae of bees. They hunted the wild pig, *paca*, *capiçara*, armadillo, and several kinds of birds. The hands, bows and arrows, and a two-pronged spear were used to catch fish. They are said to have been improvident and to have consumed crops as soon as they matured. Salt was unknown to them and *malagueta* berries were used instead. Beer was a favorite beverage. They did not have the hammock and slept on the ground. Coverings of coarse cloth were made from the fiber of the *urtiga brava* for use in cold weather. Large baskets were made from split bamboo and smaller baskets from strips of *taquara*. The latter were coated with wax to make them impervious to liquids. Pottery was quite simple.

The Europeans and their descendants who settled in the area of the present community lived principally from agriculture and the raising of small numbers of livestock—cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry—all of which the Europeans had introduced into Brazil; and this means of livelihood, influenced in certain details by practices passed on from Indian associates or ancestors, has predominated from that day to this. By the middle of the seventeenth century, at least 50 families were settled on farms in this area. Most of these were small properties; large holdings were not common anywhere in the State of São Paulo previous to the development of the coffee *fazendas* in the nineteenth century (Taunay, vol. 4, p. 167). On one of the larger of these farms there were being grown in 1761, maize, beans, peanuts, cotton, rice, manioc, and sugarcane, the latter of which was in part turned into sugar or *aguardente*.<sup>\*</sup> A small quantity of wine also was produced.

From farms in this area, several famous *bandeirantes*, with their Indian assistants, set out upon those far-ranging expeditions which made known to Europeans vast areas in the center of the South

American continent. Even in the *bandeiras* that were organized at São Paulo there are said "always to have been men from this area, well-known and respected." Expeditions were made to the famed silver mines of Potosí, in Peru; to "Guayra and the Jesuit *reducciones* of the seven peoples" in Paraguay, whence were brought back "Indian slaves, burros and goats" until, by 1638, these Indian settlements under Jesuit control had been wiped out; to Goiás whence, in 1661, the remnants of three Indian tribes referred to as Guayanazás, under three "kings," Sondá, Gravatáhy and Tombú, who had fought among themselves, were brought back and held as slaves in this area; into southern Minas Gerais where gold was sought for several years before finally being discovered in 1698 and where diamonds also were discovered in 1723; and into Mato Grosso where gold was discovered in 1718.

A *fazendeiro* in this community added materially to his already considerable wealth by loaning money at interest to *bandeirantes* and furnishing the miners among them periodically with supplies. His men took pack trains "attended by from one to two hundred slaves" and carrying such articles as meat and marmalade from his own *fazenda* and salt, sugar, firearms, and iron implements imported from Portugal, Rio de Janeiro, or Bahia. He also sold cloth, shoes, hats, salt, wheat, drugs, iron tools, and fresh beef to his neighbors. On his *fazenda* were artisans who made nails, screws, locks, utensils, and iron tools.

Several chapels were erected in the community at different times during the colonial period, at least four of which became important centers of collective life. One of these chapels grew into the present village church. On the site of another, there still stands a modest chapel, in considerable disrepair. A third chapel has recently been restored by the *Patrimônio Histórico* of Brazil. Of a fourth, no trace exists today.

The first chapel known to have been built within the limits of the present community was erected in 1653 about a mile from the site of the present village. It was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Piedade and was for many years the center of the local parish. It was built by a settler from Pernambuco, who as a young man had wasted his inheritance in Lisbon and instead of returning home had come to Rio de Janeiro, then to Santos and São

\* For the identification of these local terms, see The Mata, p. 16, Wildlife, p. 17, and Wild Fruits, p. 24.

\* See Distillation of Pings, p. 89.



Paulo, and finally to this community where he became a *fazendeiro* "with a large area planted." He is reported to have been a musician, "unparalleled in playing the viola and *violão*." His son was a noted *bandeirante* who became rich in the gold mines of Minas Gerais. His grandson, a *padre*, was so attracted by the tales of the *bandeirantes* that he eventually gave up the cloth and became a famed *bandeirante* himself, who took gold in the mines of Cuyabá, in Mato Grosso, and possessed at his death, it is said, 17,400 *oitavas* of gold.<sup>10</sup> In 1772, this chapel was reported to be in serious disrepair. Today it has disappeared. The image of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, however, is preserved in the village church. Older residents on the farms sometimes still refer to the village itself as "Piedade," although it has long been known more generally under another name.<sup>11</sup>

The second chapel to be built in the community was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição. It was erected in 1677 by the *fazendeiro* referred to above, who furnished capital to many *bandeirantes*, especially for the extraction of gold in Minas Gerais, and helped supply them with food, tools, and other necessities. At his death in 1713, the farm became the property of the Jesuits and was used by them for many years apparently as a retreat, although it is possible that they also had a school here. A legend of a secret tunnel, similar to those legends common to establishments in Brazil occupied by the Jesuits at the time of their expulsion, exists here also. Current tradition insists that the other end of this tunnel was located in a church an unbelievable 10 miles away. *Festas* are still held occasionally at the present chapel, in which the image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição is still kept. She is thought to be especially efficacious in bringing rain in a period of drought. (See section on Santos.)

The third of these chapels was erected the following year (1678) on the margin of the present community. It was built by one of the men who fled from São Paulo at the time of the feud between the Pires and Camargos, referred to above. He was married to a daughter of a famous Indian fighter known as "the terror of the Indians." His father had been a Portuguese from Setúbal.

Although he himself was not a *bandeirante*, at his death in 1691, he is said to have possessed ware made from silver, which had been taken in ventures he had organized, weighing "more than 40 *arrobas*."<sup>12</sup> This chapel also was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Conceição. Years later it became a virtual ruin but was subsequently reconstructed and, more recently, again restored by the *Patrimônio Histórico* of Brazil (pl. 10, b). On the floor, one at each side of the altar, are two figures, each about 3 feet high, which local residents identify as "Adam and Eve" (pl. 10, c). A villager says they were once used to hold up the altar.<sup>13</sup>

The fourth of these important early chapels was erected in 1701, on the *fazenda* of a *capitão-mór*, "one of the most noble and richest men of his time," who "had numerous slaves." At one time, when the French threatened to take over Rio de Janeiro permanently, he armed 200 men at his own expense to help expel them. He also took gold in the mines at Cuyabá. The chapel was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Penha<sup>14</sup> and has grown into the present village church. The original building was reconstructed at least three times: in 1772, 1814, and 1833. The present building dates from 1881. Local residents speak of a pyx of gold once owned by this church, which weighed 4½ kilos (9.9 pounds). A *padre* who officiated here from 1856 to 1888 and who was best known by his nickname of *Araçá*, became quite famous in the community. An *homem de cor*<sup>15</sup> from Santos, he is said to have been "worshiped by his parishioners." He owned land on which were "large plantings of coffee, maize, sugarcane and cotton, as well as *engenhos* for grinding cane and *olarias* for making brick." From the production of this *fazenda*, generous gifts were made to needy families.

When the first African was brought into the area under study, or even into the region, is unknown. Due to the absence of plantation agriculture such as developed in the Recôncavo of Bahia, the coastal region of Pernambuco and the area around Campos in the State of Rio de Janeiro, or of extensive gold-panning operations such as

<sup>10</sup> 2,175 pounds.

<sup>11</sup> Said another villager, "They are a *casar de índia* (an Indian man and his wife); can't you see that their color is dark, not light?"

<sup>12</sup> Of another chapel which this man is reported to have erected near the Tietê River on his *fazenda* and dedicated to Nossa Senhora de Nazareth, no trace is left today.

<sup>13</sup> "Man of color"; that is, a Negro.

<sup>14</sup> 2,175 ounces.

<sup>15</sup> Of a second chapel, erected by the grandson at an unknown date and dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Pilar, there also is no vestige left today.



those in southern Minas Gerais, the need for African labor was less felt. At the same time, contrary to what some writers have thought, Africans and their descendants have long been in this region in considerable numbers. In the will of a *fazendeiro* who died in 1691, a mulatto overseer, his wife, and a mulatto woman were freed, and the owner instructed his heirs not to sell other Negro slaves and "to treat them with that love and charity which I always showed toward them." An inventory taken in 1713 of the property of his son, whose house stood about 3 miles from the place where the village is now located, listed among this man's possessions 101 Negro slaves besides 204 Indian *administrados*. A subsequent inventory taken in 1760 listed on this *fazenda* at that time 102 Negro slaves, in addition to 101 Indian *administrados*.<sup>19</sup>

The parish marriage records for this community, which are now on file at the *Curia Metropolitana* in São Paulo, list 27 marriages for the 4 years 1720-23. One marriage was that of a man and woman referred to as *gentio de Guiné*, a generalized expression for persons born in Africa. The participants in four other marriages were all listed as *escravos*, or slaves. If this term refers to Negroes, as is quite likely, since the same registry also uses the terms *administrados* and *Carijós*<sup>20</sup> which presumably refer to Indians, eight other marriage partners were Negroes. In addition, an *escravo* is listed as having married a *Carijó* and a *Carijó* as having married a mulatto woman. Of the 54 marriage partners listed in these records, therefore, twelve, or over one-fifth, were probably of African descent.

Incomplete records of deaths in the parish during the 48 years from 1732 to 1779, inclusive, list 65 *escravos* among 283 entries. Six persons are listed as *forros* (freedmen) and one as a *parda*,<sup>21</sup> presumably a mulatto woman. Since the term *gentio da terra*, or literally "pagans of the country," often employed in early documents to refer to Indians, also appears in these records, in addition to the term *administrados*, and there are still

such other entries as "an Indian man from the *aldeia* of Barueri," "an Indian woman from the *aldeia* of São José de Jactarez" and "a Boróro Indian" (in two cases), it seems reasonable to assume that 71, or a little more than one-fourth, of these 283 deaths were of persons of African descent.<sup>22</sup> Among other individuals mentioned in these records, such as the parents, wife, husband, or other relative of the deceased, 63 are referred to as *escravos*, 8 as "freedmen," 2 as *pardas*, and 1 as a *mulata*.

In the early nineteenth century, a considerable portion of the population in the community must have been African. The marriage records for the parish list 124 marriages of Negro slaves between the years 1810 and 1862. When one considers that the condition of this registry suggests that several sheets are missing, and that it is also likely that not all slaves of marriageable age were formally married and listed in the registry, it would seem reasonable to conclude that there were a considerable number of Africans and their descendants in the community at that time.

In 1766, a decree of the Portuguese Government ordered a listing of "all persons, nobles, plebians, mixed bloods, and free blacks" by the *Companhias de Ordenança* and, beginning the following year, censuses were taken periodically for several decades. The first of these censuses listed for the community under study, 53 heads of families who gained their living from planting, 5 from spinning, 3 from weaving, 2 from retail activities, and 1 each from trading, carpentry, and tailoring. One "lived from his lands" and another was a *capitão de mato*.<sup>23</sup> There were at that time 215 *fogos*<sup>24</sup> with 542 free men and boys and 505 free women and girls, of whom 24 were *agregados* (hired laborers).<sup>25</sup>

In 1835, a census which had been ordered taken by the Provincial Assembly of São Paulo listed in the *município* of which the community under study

<sup>19</sup> The *administrados* were furnished houses in which to live and plots of land on which to plant crops for their own use. They were expected to give 3 days' service a week in return for the use of these dwellings.

<sup>20</sup> Some time after the arrival of the Europeans, the term *Carijó* apparently became in this region a generalized expression to refer to any Indian.

<sup>21</sup> A term which in general means mixed blood, especially of African and European origin.

<sup>22</sup> In these records, the indication *de nascom Mina* (of the Mina "nation") appears seven times; *de nascom Angola*, four times; *de nascom Benguela*, twice, as also *de nascom Banguella*, both of which are probably alternate spellings of Benguela; and the more general term *gentio* (or *nascom*) *de Guiné*, four times.

<sup>23</sup> A "bush captain" hired to track down fugitive slaves.

<sup>24</sup> Literally, fires; i. e., households.

<sup>25</sup> The free population included 542 men and boys, 505 women and girls. Three age groups were given for each sex, the categories being somewhat different. Males were listed as "over 60" (44), "14 to 60" (277), and "under 14" (221); females as "over 50" (49), "12 to 50" (292) and "under 12" (164).



was then a part, 5 persons as being musicians, 14 as knowing carpentry, 7 tailoring, 6 shoemaking, 3 tinsmithing, and 1 wood carving. All other heads of families were engaged in agriculture. The principal planting is given as maize, beans, and rice.<sup>22</sup> There were in the *município* 646 households with 4,196 persons, of whom 1,977 were men and boys and 2,219 women and girls. Of these, 131, or 3 percent, were listed as "Indians"—60 men and boys and 71 women and girls; and 1,296, or 31 percent, as *capitulos* (slaves)—680 men and boys and 616 women and girls. Of the slaves, 683 (323 men and boys and 360 women and girls) were given as "Brazilian-born blacks"; 291 (186 men and boys and 105 women and girls) as "blacks from Africa"; and 322 (171 men and boys and 151 women and girls) as *pardos*. Of all blacks, 80 percent were slaves; while of the *pardos*, 76 percent were free.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, these data are not broken down by subdivisions of the *município* so that one may know what portion lived in the community under study.

In 1850, the population of the community was given as 1,270, of which 29 percent were slaves.<sup>24</sup> In 1886, there were still 158 slaves, 91 of whom were men and boys, and 67 girls and women. Of these, 38 were married and 4 widowed. Four were slaves in the village and the others were on sur-

rounding farms. Nine persons had been born in Africa. Only 14 other individuals had not been born in Brazil, 8 of whom were Portuguese and 6 Italian. There were 531 houses with an average of 4.6 persons per household. All but 22, or 4.1 percent, of the houses were owned by the persons living in them.<sup>25</sup>

In the Federal census of 1890, there were listed for the community 2,202 persons, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total	Pct.
Whites.....	293	269	562	25.5
Blacks.....	317	260	577	26.2
Capitulos.....	161	165	326	14.8
Mestiços.....	342	395	737	33.5
Total.....	1,113	1,089	2,202	100.0

<sup>22</sup> The precise meaning of this term is not clear. It has been used at different times in Brazil in four different ways: to refer to (1) Indians in a tribal state, (2) assimilated or partially assimilated Indians, (3) descendants of Indians, mixed in varying degrees with whites and (in certain areas) with Negroes and (4) isolated, nonliterate rural inhabitants.

In more recent years, a few persons born in Europe have migrated to the community. According to the Federal census for 1920, of a total population of 4,310, 101 persons, or 2.3 percent, were born outside Brazil. Of these, 47 were Italian (35 males, 12 females); 27 were Portuguese (21 males, 6 females); and 27 were Spanish (22 males, 5 females). According to the State census of 1934, taken 14 years later, 266 persons, or 7 percent of the population, were foreign-born. Of these, 64 were Spanish, 56 Italian, and 52 Portuguese. There were also 73 Japanese, 6 Syrians, 2 Germans, and 13 persons "of other nationalities."<sup>26</sup> No comparable data are available from the 1940 census.

A number of present-day residents are descended from families which moved into the area two to three generations ago from a community about 25 miles to the south. Several families from another community, about 40 miles to the east, are also said to have moved into the area around 1916.

A road linking the community with the coast by way of São Paulo has existed since shortly after the first settlement in the area. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the town of São Paulo was the hub of six different roads fanning out like the spokes of a wheel. One of these passed near the

<sup>22</sup> A comparatively small acreage was in manioc. Coffee production was reported as 55,000 arrobas (881 tons); cotton as 1,151 arrobas (73.6 bales). Comparatively small quantities of sugar (10.8 tons) and piña (154 gallons) also were produced that year. There were 354 head of cattle and 63 horses.

<sup>23</sup> During this year, 165 births were registered, 70, or 36 percent, of slaves. Of all births, 102 were of boys, 23 of girls; of the slaves, 22 were boys, 33 girls; of the free-born, 70 were boys, 55 girls. Deaths totaled 114, or 81 less than births, of which 33, or 31 percent, were of slaves. Of all deaths, 52 were of masculine sex, 62 of feminine; of the slaves, 18 were masculine, 17 feminine; of those who were free, 24 were masculine, 45 feminine. There were 33 marriages, of which 6, or 17 percent, were of slaves.

<sup>24</sup> In the free population, there were 433 men and boys, 470 women and girls; in the slave population, 185 men and boys, 182 women and girls. The distribution by age was as follows:

Age	Free		Slave		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
80-90.....	4	3			7
70-80.....	20	17	1	2	40
60-70.....	34	29	14	15	92
50-60.....	40	33	18	21	121
40-50.....	60	58	24	23	165
30-40.....	76	84	31	27	218
20-30.....	78	78	30	26	200
10-20.....	55	56	24	32	207
0-10.....	60	82	35	38	211
Total.....	433	470	185	182	1,270

<sup>25</sup> The sex division was given as 1,175 men and boys and 1,290 women and girls.

<sup>26</sup> At the present time, there are no Syrians or Germans in the community and only two families of Japanese.



village on the way to Itú and the west. Another went down the rim of the *planalto* from São Paulo to Santos. A third extended northeastward from São Paulo along the Paraíba Valley toward Rio de Janeiro, with a branch into southern Minas Gerais. A fourth went northward into Minas Gerais by way of Sapucaí and Camanducaia. A fifth led northwestward through Campinas and Franca into Goiás and a sixth extended south and west to Curitiba in Paraná.

The *Estrada Imperial* (Imperial Highway), which linked São Paulo with Itú, is referred to by present inhabitants as having once been "the best road in the State of São Paulo." It passed along the ridge where the village cemetery is now located. It is said to have always followed the contours of the terrain, winding along the heights and seeking to avoid the necessity for bridges. Local residents still speak of a journey once made by the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro II, along this road.

A railroad extending west from São Paulo and passing through São José dos Patos, 9 miles to the south of the village, and Boa Vista, 11 miles to the southwest, was inaugurated in 1875. A bus line from São Paulo which passed through Boa Vista was established in 1928; and in 1935 another bus line which passed through Piracema, 7 miles to the northeast. The road linking these towns with the village, however, long were little more than trails for pack train and oxcart. Although improved somewhat following the introduction of the truck into the area about 20 years ago, they still were barely passable to motor vehicles until quite recently. The road to Paratinga, which was the first and for a long time the most important link of the community with the outside world, is now falling into disuse.

Previous to the coming of the truck, the carrying of produce out of the community and of such necessities as salt and cloth into it, were by pack train and oxcart. Three persons are still living in the village who, when young men, were *tropeiros*, or drivers of pack trains. The role of this specialist in Brazil, as a means not only of exchanging goods but also of communication and news, has not yet adequately been studied. Probably more than any other agent, the *tropeiro* for centuries helped to reduce isolation in the vast Brazilian interior.

On a *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village is the entrance to an old mine said to have been worked for gold by the Jesuits in the eighteenth century. Nearby is another mine where shafts were sunk and ore was extracted from 1926 to 1933. A small plant for sifting out ore concentrate, with a capacity of 15 to 20 tons daily, was erected, and the concentrate was shipped to the United States for smelting.<sup>28</sup> High costs and a low return led to the closing of the mine in 1933 and the subsequent removal of the buildings.

Still standing in the community is a house constructed in 1688. Its beams are of *peroba* and "as firm today as when first laid," says a village carpenter. The walls are of *taipa*, or earth tamped down firm and solid. The floors, originally of earth, are now of brick; the roof is of tile.

Administratively, the community was a *freguesia* (parish) of one *município* from 1653 to 1844 and of another from 1844 to 1874; a *município* in its own right from 1874 to 1934,<sup>29</sup> and a *distrito* of a neighboring *município* since that date. It appears, however, that the actual area involved has remained constant.

In this area, then, the principal occurrences in the past have been as follows: (a) Contact between indigenous Indians, migrant Europeans (principally Portuguese), and imported Africans; (b) the development and eventual passing of a system of slavery involving, first, Indians, and, later, Africans; (c) extensive miscegenation and the gradual amalgamation of these three basic races into a new hybrid stock, in the course of which the Indian, as a distinct biological group, has disappeared and the Negro is apparently in the process of disappearing; (d) the appearance in comparatively recent years of a limited number of Europeans from countries other than Portugal, especially Spain and Italy, and also of a few Japanese, all of whom have either been assimilated into the local society or have moved on elsewhere; (e) the migration to the area of several families from nearby communities; (f) an economy which originally was primarily extractive and, later, predominantly agricultural, although

<sup>28</sup> A ton of ore is reported to have yielded 125 gm. of gold and 134 gm. of silver. Included also were:

Lead	6.1 percent
Copper	5 percent
Zinc	5.8 percent

<sup>29</sup> The *camara*, or legislative body, was dissolved in 1890.



the area also at one time produced some gold and, more importantly, served as a base of departure for the extraction of large quantities of gold, silver, and diamonds in other regions, as well as the procural of Indian slaves; (g) the maintenance, since shortly after the appearance of the Portuguese, of effective political control of European character; (h) the effective assimilation of Indians and Africans and the gradual disappearance of first the Indian cultures, then the African cultures, until today the most diligent and persistent research is able to turn up only a few vestiges of

either group of cultures; (i) a *bandeirante* movement which, using the community as a base, explored vast areas of the central portion of the continent; (j) a close identification of collective life with religious activities; (k) a limited reduction of a general condition of isolation from the influence of the cities by means of the far-voyaging *trapeiros* and, in later years, the truck and the railroad, although even after the appearance of these latter agencies, the condition of local roads long continued as a rather effective barrier to communication.

## THE ECOLOGICAL BASE

When considering any society or culture, one not only has to trace the roots which run back into the past but also to give attention to certain basic physical and biological facts. Obviously no society or culture emerges without the agency of a population group, the interaction of whose members constitutes the society and produces, as well as is conditioned by, the culture. Moreover, this population group always occupies a habitat, in terms of which its struggle for existence, which underlies and to some extent conditions both collective behavior and cultural forms, is carried on. Any account of a given society and culture which seeks to be realistic must therefore take into consideration those elements of a physical and biological character with which the inhabitants have had to deal. It must also take into consideration the techniques which the inhabitants have developed to reduce competition with other living forms occupying the same habitat, and to utilize natural resources to supply basic needs; techniques, some of which are material in character but others of which involve knowledge, attitudes, and behavior, especially as these enter into and cause to function economic processes and institutions.

### HABITAT

The general character of the area is that of a one-time plain, now extensively eroded into a profusion of furrowed, round-topped hills, with an occasional wide valley. As, from a point of vantage, the eye roams over the area, the surface seems almost continually to shift, now rising, then falling, then rising again. The ground sometimes

falls away quite sharply, the slope in a few cases becoming as much as 45° or 50°. The hills at times reach 400 to 500 feet in height. An occasional large rock or, more rarely, a huge granite boulder or a series of boulders, stick up out of the generally porous soil. The altitude varies from about 2,300 to 3,600 feet, with an average around 2,500.

Seven miles to the east of the village, in sharp perspective when the atmosphere is clear, or dimly seen through haze or mist, Mt. Itacolomi rises some eight hundred feet. To the northwest, approximately an equal distance away, the Morro do Palambí, a long flat-topped ridge, over which come many of the rainstorms which reach the village, dominates the sky line for the third part of a quadrant.

### SOIL

Local inhabitants distinguish between three kinds of soil which they call, respectively, *massapé*, *sangue de tatu*, and *carrascá*. *Massapé* is predominant in the community. It is a dark, rich, porous soil of considerable depth. When wet, it is quite slippery. *Sangue de tatu* or, literally, "the blood of the armadillo," is a reddish soil of medium value. The *carrascá*, which a villager referred to as "land which grows only ferns and *sapé*,"<sup>10</sup> is a shallow, clayey soil with some sand. The excellent *terra rosa*, preferred for coffee planting, does not exist here. Land on a steep hillside is called locally *perambeira*.

In 1945, the State *Secretaria da Agricultura* estimated that of the land in the *distrito* of which

<sup>10</sup> A coarse wide-bladed grass, used for thatching.



the village is the center, 2,000 *alqueires* (about 12,000 acres) were "very good," 800 "good," 500 "average," 467 "poor," none "very poor," and none "improper for agriculture." Although the categories employed in these estimates are obviously subjective and relative, they do perhaps give some indication of the value for agricultural purposes of the land in this community as a technician thinks of it in comparison with the land in other parts of the region.

### CLIMATE AND SEASONS

The climate is that of a subtropical region at about 2,500 feet altitude: ordinarily healthy and agreeable with a minimum of both heat and cold. During the last 23 years, or the period for which complete data are available,<sup>2</sup> the rainfall has averaged 57.8 inches a year. The heaviest precipitation during this period was in 1931, when 81.4 inches fell; the lightest in 1944, when 36.4 inches fell. These data are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1.—Rainfall, by years, Cruz das Almas community, 1926-48<sup>1</sup>

Year	Rainfall (in inches)	Year	Rainfall (in inches)
1926	52.2	1938	61.0
1927	63.5	1939	48.1
1928	59.1	1940	46.4
1929	50.9	1941	54.6
1930	66.7	1942	46.0
1931	81.4	1943	52.5
1932	67.4	1944	36.4
1933	40.5	1945	63.9
1934	54.4	1946	45.8
1935	49.5	1947	73.9
1936	62.5	1948	56.8
1937	56.0	Average	57.8

<sup>1</sup> Source: A private agency. See footnote 31, below.

There are two seasons most often referred to by the inhabitants, the rainy and the dry. The local terms are *tempo das águas* ("the time of the rains") and *tempo da seca* ("the time of the drought"). The months covered by these seasons naturally vary somewhat from year to year. In general, however, the rainy season begins in December and extends through March; the dry season begins in April, becomes most acute in July, and usually continues through August. In

the intervening months of September to November, inclusive, rainfall usually is not heavy but increases as the weeks pass. These data are indicated in table 2.

TABLE 2.—Maximum, minimum, and average rainfall by months, Cruz das Almas community, 1926-48<sup>1</sup>

Month	Maximum rainfall		Minimum rainfall		Average (in inches)
	Inches	Year in which occurred	Inches	Year in which occurred	
January	30.4	1929	3.6	1939	6.7
February	12.9	1927	.6	1928	5.1
March	15.2	1931	1.2	1930	6.0
April	7.0	1937	.5	1933	2.5
May	8.4	1929	.1	1934, 1942	1.6
June	7.9	1945	.0	1935	1.9
July	4.8	1926	.0	1937	1.5
August	6.9	1927	.0	1944	1.8
September	11.7	1935	.0	1939	5.0
October	12.7	1935	.0	1920	6.2
November	14.8	1939	2.5	1920	9.7
December	20.1	1932	2.3	1937	9.7

<sup>1</sup> Source: A private agency. See footnote 31, below.

The rainy and the dry seasons are to some extent also defined by temperature variations. Inhabitants speak of the *tempo do calor* ("the time of the heat") and the *tempo do frio* ("the time of the cold"). The warm season corresponds roughly to the rainy season and the cold season to the dry season. This correspondence, however, is only approximate. The average daily temperature begins to increase in August and September and reaches a maximum in January and February, following which it declines. The decrease is quite gradual until May when it becomes more appreciable and in July the average temperature reaches its lowest point for the year. These data are indicated in table 3.

TABLE 3.—Average temperatures, by months, Cruz das Almas community, 1938-48<sup>1</sup>

Month	Average temperature (° F.)	Month	Average temperature (° F.)
January	71	July	58
February	71	August	60
March	70	September	65
April	68	October	66
May	65	November	63
June	59	December	62

<sup>1</sup> Source: A private agency. See footnote 31, below.

The "dry" season, however, is not completely without rain. In fact, the average precipitation for the 5 months of this season, during the 23 years for which data are available, was 9.0 inches each year. The rainfall for the 4 principal months

<sup>2</sup> Data on rainfall and temperature which are available at the Government station in the nearby seat of the município cover only a few recent years. The data presented here were furnished by a private agency which maintains its own station even nearer the village (only about 5 miles away). This agency prefers to remain anonymous. The readings are standard, however, and have a high degree of accuracy.



of the rainy season during the same 23 years, averaged 34.1 inches, with a maximum in December and January (9.7 inches each month) and a minimum in March (6.6 inches). For the 3 months of the intermediate season (September–November), the average rainfall each year during the same period was 14.8 inches, the maximum rainfall being in November (6.2 inches) and the minimum in September (3.6 inches).

The temperature during the 11 years from 1937 to 1948, inclusive, or the period for which complete data are available, ranged from a minimum of 32° F. to a maximum of 97°. The former figure was registered only four times during this period: once each in June, July, August, and September. The maximum of 97° was registered six times during these 11 years: four times in October and twice in December. July, the "coldest" month, had an average temperature of 58° during this period. January was the warmest month, with an average temperature for the 11 years of 71°. These data are summarized in tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 4.—Maximum, minimum, and average temperatures, by years, Cruz das Almas community, 1938–48<sup>1</sup>

Year	Maximum temperature		Minimum temperature		Average
	Degrees Fahrenheit	Month in which occurred	Degrees Fahrenheit	Month in which occurred	
1938	81	January	35	July	63
1939	95	November, December	32	August	66
1940	97	October, December	30	July, August	67
1941	95	February	36	September	66
1942	80	October, November	32	June, July	64
1943	95	January	32	September	64
1944	97	October, December	34	July, August	65
1945	97	October	35	June, July	65
1946	97	do	36	do	66
1947	95	December	35	June	64
1948	95	January	38	August	65

<sup>1</sup> Source: A private agency. See footnote 31, p. 14. Original readings in centigrade are here given in Fahrenheit.

Average temperatures, however, are not an accurate index of actual climate in the area. Changes in temperature during the same day are often considerable. Within the space of only a few hours, abrupt declines may bring discomfort to persons without adequate clothing or shelter. These sharp changes are due in part to the shifting of the large air masses, especially those of the south polar and the Amazon regions, which to a considerable extent are responsible for the climate. These abrupt changes more often (and usually more appreciably) are due, however, to the cool-

ing of the earth's surface at this altitude after nightfall. During the "winter" month of July 1947, for example, the average variation in temperature per day was 23.1° F.; the maximum variation was 38°; the minimum variation was 9°. During the "summer" month of January, a half year later, the variation per day was similar: an average variation of 21.6° F.; a maximum variation of 34° (on 3 different days); and a minimum variation of 6°. These data are indicated in table 5.

TABLE 5.—Daily variations in temperature (° F.), sample months in winter and summer, Cruz das Almas community, 1947–48<sup>1</sup>

Day	July 1947			January 1948		
	Maximum	Minimum	Variation	Maximum	Minimum	Variation
1.	78	43	35	90	81	29
2.	77	43	34	90	80	34
3.	77	49	28	91	89	32
4.	68	48	20	91	84	27
5.	70	57	13	93	89	34
6.	72	57	15	93	79	34
7.	72	50	22	95	84	31
8.	75	50	25	91	84	27
9.	63	54	9	86	85	23
10.	54	41	13	82	65	19
11.	66	49	23	72	66	6
12.	72	45	27	82	64	18
13.	63	45	18	81	64	17
14.	65	44	21	81	64	17
15.	67	43	24	81	66	15
16.	64	50	14	77	64	13
17.	68	50	18	82	64	18
18.	72	50	22	82	64	18
19.	85	50	35	79	64	15
20.	73	49	24	81	64	17
21.	68	50	18	79	64	15
22.	75	50	25	81	68	13
23.	75	50	25	86	68	18
24.	75	48	27	91	64	27
25.	77	44	33	86	64	22
26.	77	44	33	88	64	24
27.	79	48	31	88	64	24
28.	61	46	15	88	64	24
29.	72	50	22	88	64	24
30.	75	49	26	86	80	20
31.	82	45	37	84	60	15
Average	71.6	47.9	23.1	85.3	62.7	21.6

<sup>1</sup> Source: A private agency. See footnote 31, p. 14. Original readings in centigrade are here given in Fahrenheit.

It is possible that the climate has changed somewhat in the last quarter century. Statistical data, however, are lacking either to confirm or to deny this supposition. The inhabitants maintain that "20 or 30 years ago" it was colder in the "cold season" and warmer in the "warm season." Said an informant, "A basin of water left out on the eve of São João<sup>2</sup> used to have ice in it by morning; today, it has only water." It is also maintained that rainfall was heavier before the timber was cut off. Farmers allege that it is more diffi-

<sup>2</sup> The principal festa, celebrated each year on June 24.



cult to predict rain now than formerly. They say the weather is now *mole* ("weak"; that is, inconstant).

In general, however, the climatic conditions of the area still readily support the adjustment which the inhabitants have made to their habitat in developing agriculture as the principal means of subsistence. Rainfall is usually adequate during the growing season, although occasionally crops may be in need of moisture for a comparatively brief period of drought. Hail and ground temperatures below freezing are extremely rare, and sleet and snow are unknown. The soil in general is fertile. The principal disadvantage is that planting must often be done on hillsides, the slopes of which at times become quite steep. This condition of the terrain obviously also favors erosion.

#### WATER SUPPLY

The community has an abundant supply of water. Numerous brooks and rills, all of which carry clean, clear spring water, find their way down through the hills into a number of creeks which flow to the nearby river. Farmhouses are ordinarily located near one of these streams which have never been known, at least within the memory of present residents, to go dry. In the immediate vicinity of the village are five creeks: one which flows along the edge of the village, another only a quarter of a mile to the southwest, a third three-fourths of a mile to the north, a fourth 2 miles away to the east, and a fifth 2 miles to the west.

An occasional well is dug to tap subsurface water. At present, however, there is only one well in the village. It is located at the rear of a villager's house, about 30 feet from the kitchen door and supplies his family and that of a neighbor. It is 26 feet deep and took a month to dig. The level of the water maintains itself at from 4 to 6 feet from the bottom of the excavation. The well is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter at the top and slightly less at the bottom, the slope being due to the necessity of avoiding cave-ins in this soil. Bricks have been placed around the wall of the well at the bottom to keep the water from being muddied when a bucket is dropped into it. At the edge of the well, a brick wall about 20 inches high has been constructed, over which a board has been placed to keep dust and other impurities from entering the well.

A post has been set on each side of the opening to support a *cambito*, or horizontal bar with a crank. A rope attached to the bar winds or unwinds in keeping with the direction the bar is turned. On the end of the rope is a bucket which is lowered and raised through an opening about 20 inches square cut in the board covering the well. A small iron weight in the form of an old horse-shoe has been attached to one side of the bucket, so as to make it turn over upon striking the surface of the water, and fill. In the 33 years since it was dug, this well has never gone dry.<sup>22</sup>

In 1916, a few enterprising villagers built a cement reservoir about 13 feet high and 10 feet square on an elevation some two hundred yards to the south of the village and diverted water from a brook about a half mile away to flow into it. From the reservoir, water was then piped into village dwellings so that today, of a total of 73 houses in the village, 41 are supplied with running water. A charge of from Cr. \$5.80 to Cr. \$8.80 (about 32 to 48 cents), depending on the size of the family, is made for this service. Other families in the village carry water from one of the two public faucets located at either end of the village *praça*, in tins formerly used for gasoline. Farm families occasionally use bamboo canes to bring water into the yard from nearby streams.

#### THE MATA

Although in recent years most of the remaining *mata*, or virgin forest with its tangled mass of underbrush and vines, has been cleared away, a few patches and an occasional larger area still stand uncut, especially along the river. These are a source of firewood, lumber, *taguara*, and *cipó*, as well as of game, wild fruits, and plants for medicinal or magical purposes.

*Cipó* is the local term, of Guaraní origin, for vine. It is, however, more commonly used to refer particularly to several similar species of vines found in abundance in the *mata* which are excellent for binding. When green, they bend readily without breaking and, after drying, remain for years strong and firm. Eight species used by local inhabitants are called *São João*, *mandinga*, *cruz*, *Elho*, *maquã*, *branco*, *de sapo*, and *nerco-da-boi*.

<sup>22</sup> The cost of digging was 800 *reals* per *palmeira* (span) for the first 10 *palmeiras* and 1 *milreis* per *palmeira* thereafter.



The São João is universally preferred.<sup>34</sup> It is used in the construction of houses of *pau a pique*<sup>35</sup> and similar buildings, to make handles for baskets, to tie together bamboo or other poles for fences and on any one of a number of other occasions when a hinder is needed. The other kinds are used to a lesser extent, usually in the construction of fences and buildings. The presence of the *mandinga* is considered to be an indication of fertile soil. Two other species of *cipó*, known locally as *goiaba* and *leite*, are said to be of little value.

The *taguara*, a plant related to the bamboo, is also much used. Local inhabitants distinguish 10 kinds: *urú*, *póca*, *pinínga*, *ussú*, *mirim*, *da Índia*, *do reino*, *Guiné*, *Chinesa*, and *taguári*. The *Chinesa* is used to build fences and to make bird cages; *da Índia* to build fences and to make fishing poles; *do reino* to make *piox*<sup>36</sup> and guiding sticks for rockets.<sup>37</sup> The *taguári* is considered of little value. All the remaining kinds are used to make *jacás* and other baskets, *apás* for winnowing, *peneiras* for sifting and *embornais*, or feed bags for horses.<sup>38</sup> The bamboo proper (also called locally *mambú*), originally imported into Brazil, is used to build fences and to furnish support for occasional grapevines.

Among the trees most used for lumber are the *jacarandá* (*Jacaranda* spp.), *peroba* (*Aspidosperma* sp.), *guatambú* (*A. olivaceum*), *saguarangi* (*Colubrina rufa*), and *piúva* (*Tabebuia ochracea*), all of which are excellent hardwoods, as well as the softer *cedro* (Brazilian cedar; *Cedrela glaziovii*), *canela* (*Nectandra* sp.), and *passuare* (*Sclerolobium denudatum*). The *cambará* (*Moquinia polymorpha*) and *jacaré* (*Piptadenia communis*) are used for fence posts. The wooden portion of pack saddles is made from *guaíca*. Poles from the *araçapiranga* (*Psidium* sp.) and *capiçingui* (*Ocotea floribunda*), both of which are said to be especially weather-resistant, are used for building purposes. *Gamelas*, or wooden bowls, are carved from *caroba* (*Jacaranda* sp.). *Capiçingui*, *jacaré*, and *guatambú* (*Casearia sylvestris*) are preferred for firewood. A few *paineiras*, or kapok trees, also grow in the area.

An occasional pine tree is a source of *pinhões*, or pine nuts.

When a plot is cleared for planting, the smaller trees are used for firewood or made into charcoal. (See sections on Forest Utilization and Making of Charcoal.) An occasional bee-tree is still to be found in the *mata*. Several wild fruits and edible plants may also be found in season (see section on Wild Fruits). The use of other plants for medicinal or magical purposes is common.

#### WILDLIFE

As the timber and underbrush which once covered the hills and valleys have been cut away, the wildlife in the area has correspondingly declined. There is still, however, an abundance of fish in the river; and in the remaining timber along its banks, as also in isolated patches standing elsewhere, small animals and birds are still hunted and trapped.

The following fish are to be found in the area: *acará* (*cará*), *bágre*, *cascudo*, *lambari*, *marulí*, *piúva*, *pirapitinga*, *taia* and *traíra*. Three kinds are regularly caught and used for food: the *acará*, *bágre*, and *traíra*. The *acará* (*Geophagus*) is a prolific fish of up to 8 inches in length; when small, its alternating dark-blue and silvery stripes passing vertically around the body give it an attractive appearance which, however, fades somewhat with age. The *bágre* belongs to the family Pimelodidae. It has a dark back and light-colored underside, a huge mouth and small teeth; it at times reaches 14 inches in length. The *traíra* (*Hoplias*) is dark gray with yellowish stripes. It reaches over 12 inches in length and weighs up to 4½ pounds. The mouth is large in proportion to the body and the teeth are strong and sharp.

The *lambari* (*Tetragonopterus*) are also caught, but only during the months when the *arirí* and the *icá* (see p. 34), which are used as bait, are available. Approximately 150 species are known in Brazil (Von Ihering, 1940, p. 459). The most common in this community are in general silver-colored, with a dark streak down the back and a red tail. The larger species, averaging about 6 inches in length, are called locally *lambari-quassú*; the smaller species, averaging around 4 inches in length, are called *lambari-mirim*.<sup>39</sup> A number of

<sup>34</sup> During the months of June and July, huge clusters of slender, bell-shaped, orange-colored blossoms, each about 2 inches long, appear on this vine.

<sup>35</sup> See Dwellings and Furnishings, p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> Whistles which are used to call game birds.

<sup>37</sup> See Making of Fireworks, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> See Basketry, p. 83.

<sup>39</sup> In Guarani, *quassú* (*assú*) means large; *mirim* means small.



smaller but related species (Cheirodontinae) which never exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and are light gray in color are known locally as *piquirá*.

Also caught to a lesser extent are the *cascudo*, *mandi*, *piava*, *taia*, and *pirapitinga*. The *cascudo* (Loricariidae), or literally "the thick-shelled," is named for its large, hard scales; it is a slender, dark-gray fish which reaches up to 12 inches in length. The *mandi* (*Pimelodus*) is a scaleless fish similar in appearance to the *bágre* except that it is more yellow in color and has bluish spots; it reaches around 12 inches in length. A local species, known as the *mandijuba* and more generally referred to as the *mandijuba* (*P. clarias*), reaches 18 inches in length. The *piava* (*Leporinus*) (Characidae) is silvery gray in color, with a dark back and tail and a small mouth; its maximum length is about 12 inches. The *taia* (Characidae) is a silver-colored fish with a dark-gray back, a large mouth and quite visible teeth; it at times reaches 8 inches in length. Like the *lambari*, the *pirapitinga* (*Chalceus opalinus*) is caught only during those months when the *siriri* and *igá* are available. It is an agile fish of silver color similar to the *lambari-guassú* and is ordinarily found among them. It reaches 12 inches in length and weighs up to 2 pounds. The mouth is small. The *corimbata* (*Prochilodus*) and *piracanjuba* (*Brycon*) are caught farther up the river.

A number of animals once common to the region are now extremely rare or have entirely disappeared: the *onça parda*, *onça pintada*, *jaguaritica*, *cotia*, *jacaré*, *ourico*, *sagui*,<sup>40</sup> sloth, otter, fox, and anteater. Also occasionally to be seen are the *preá* (*piriá*), *cachorro-do-mato*, *mão pelado*, *bugio*, *saá*, *irara*, *gambá*,<sup>41</sup> squirrel, rabbit, lizard, and four kinds of armadillo (the *canastra*, *galinha*, *vermelho*, and *do-rabo-mole* <sup>42</sup>).

Of considerable importance, however, still today, so far as hunting is concerned, are five game animals: the *capiara*, the *paca*, the *coati* (*quati*), the wild pig, and the deer. The *capiara* and the *paca* are similar rodents. The *capiara* (*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*) is light brown in color and

weighs up to 130 pounds. The *paca* (*Cuniculus paca*) is only about a fourth as large when full grown. The wild pig or *caiteté* (*Tayassu tajacu*), sometimes called locally the *tatêto*, looks much like the domestic variety except that the body is less corpulent and the legs are longer and more slender. The bristles are extremely tough. This animal roams in bands of at times as many as three hundred individuals. The *coati* (*Nasua solitaria*) has a head similar in appearance to that of a fox. The body, however, is much larger and the legs are quite short. In general, it is yellowish gray in color, with white stripes on the face, alternating light and dark rings on the tail and black feet. It also ordinarily runs in bands, as many as 12 to 15 individuals being at times seen together. Local inhabitants refer to the *coati-mandêo* as a distinct species; these animals, however, are merely aged males which wander about alone, apparently having been driven out of the band by the younger males. The local deer or *veado* (*Mazama americana*), when full grown, is only about the size of an average goat. It is then tawny in color, having lost the white stripes on its back which it had as a fawn. It is now the most numerous species of game.

One also finds in this area many different kinds of birds. Those which are most often hunted or trapped are the *chim-guassú*, *jacú*, *juriti*, *nhambú-guassú*, *nhambú-chororó*, *rolinha*, and *urú*.

The *chim-guassú*, or *alma-de-gato* (literally, "cat's soul"), is more generally known as *tinguassú* (*Piaya cayana macroura*). Its back is of chocolate color, the under parts being slate gray and the neck and chest grayish red. The tail is half again as long as the body. The *jacú* (*Penelope superciliosa*) is about the size of a small chicken, of brown color, with small red wattles. It is usually found in trees, although at times it is also to be seen on the ground. In flight, its wings produce a sound similar to a hoarse laugh. The *juriti* and the *rolinha* are variant members of the dove family. The *rolinha* (*Columbigallina talpacoti*) is smaller than the *juriti* (*Leptotila*) and has a slightly longer tail than is commonly to be found among dove species. It is sometimes called *fogo-apagô*,<sup>43</sup> a name derived from the sound it utters. Since, also, the sound of its wings in flight is similar to that made by the tail of a rattlesnake in motion,

<sup>40</sup> Respectively: *Puma concolor*, *Panthera onça*, *Leopardus pardalis brasiliensis*, *Dasypus azarae*, *Caiman latirostris*, *Coandus villosus*, and *Callithrix aurita*.

<sup>41</sup> Respectively: *Caria acron*, *Cerdocyon thous*, *Procyon canis*, *Alouatta caraya*, *Callicebus nigritarsis*, *Tayra barbara*, *Didelphis*.

<sup>42</sup> Respectively: *Prionites giganteus*, *Dasypus novemcinctus*, *Euphractus sexcinctus*, and *Cabassoma valcinetis*.

<sup>43</sup> "The fire has gone out."



the *rolinha* occasionally is called *rolinha cascavel* (rattlesnake *rolinha*). The *nhambú-quassú* is more generally known as the *inambú-quassú* (*Crypturellus obsoletus*). It is dark brown in color and similar in size to a small chicken. It is found on the ground in the *mata*. The *nhambú-chororó* (*O. parvirostris*) is a smaller species, about the size of a dove. It is found on the ground in the *tigüera*, or second-growth brush, whence the name by which it is sometimes called: *nhambú-de-tigüera*. The *urú* (*Odontophorus capueira*) is named for the sound it emits: "urú-urú-urú." It is predominantly brownish gray in color, with white dots on dark-gray wings. The male has a small, red topknot. Its legs and neck are both shorter than those of the *nhambú-quassú*. At night it roosts in trees. Also caught occasionally are the *pichororé* (*Saltator similis similis*), *sabiá-poca* (*Mimus saturninus frater*), *saracura* (*Aramides saracura*), and the small-bodied *frango d'agua* (*Porphyryla martinica*), although these birds do not play any significant role in the local food supply. The flesh of the *anã preto* (*Orotaphaga ani*) is used as a folk remedy. Also occasionally to be seen are the *perdiz* (a local species of partridge) and the *codorna* (*Nothura maculosa*).

Many other birds are common to the community, including a number of song birds, some of which derive their names from the sounds they utter. Among these are the following, as known to the local inhabitants: the *anã branco*, *aracari*, *azulão*, *baitaca*, *bem-te-vi*, *bicudo*, *caga-sebo*, *chan-cham*, *curiango*, *curri*, *garandi*, *joó*, *João-de-barro*, *pintasilgo*, *sabiá-do-peito-amarelo*, *sangue-de-boi*, *sanhasú*, *sem-fim*, *tangará*, *tico-tico*, and *tucano*, as well as the hawk (*carancho*), vulture (*urubú*), swallow, sparrow, parrot (including the *tui*, a species of lovebird, and the parakeet) and several species of hummingbirds, or *beija-flores* (literally, *kisses the flowers*) as they are called in Brazil.

During the late summer (January to February), fireflies are numerous in the community and brighten the nights with their flashing lights. The members of the local family of these insects (Elateridae) average about an inch in length and are greenish-black in color. Two round spots on the head are also phosphorescent and look like tiny green headlights. They light up either in conjunc-

tion with or separately from, the light in the abdomen.

A perhaps minor but not insignificant part of the struggle for existence which the inhabitants carry on in this habitat is due to the action of noxious insects. Among the most competitive of these insects are the tick (*carrapato*), the ant (especially the *saúva*), the termite, spider (especially the *caranguejeira*), the mosquito, and the *berneira*.

Ticks are serious pests for both men and animals. The young begin to appear about the end of April or early in May and soon thereafter trees, shrubs and grass are covered with them. In this community, two species are known: the *picasso* and the *vermelhinho*. The *picasso* (*Amblyomma cayennense*) is the larger. Before feeding, the adult insect is flat and only about 4 to 5 mm. in diameter. As it fills up on the blood of its victim, however, it swells considerably until it may reach three times this size when, in shape and color, it resembles a small, unripe olive. It is to be found the year around. In the larval stage, it is quite small and occasionally piles up by the thousands on the branches of trees and of shrubs and blades of grass. Local inhabitants think of this larva as a separate species and call it *pólvora* (gun powder). The *vermelhinho* (*Rhipicephalus sanguineus*) or, literally, "the little red one," is a smaller species than the *picasso*.

The *pólvora* is the most obnoxious of all forms. As much as a pint or more of these larvae may be scraped off a cow or a horse at one time. They are most abundant and active in July and August. By simply walking a few yards along a path, a person may get the lower portion of his clothing literally covered with them. If not at once picked off, they soon are distributed over the body and are boring down beneath the skin to suck the blood.<sup>44</sup> Each puncture then begins to itch intensely. Unwary scratching may break off the insect's head and leave it to fester beneath the skin, thereby greatly increasing the irritation. If care is not taken, these minute wounds may become infected; in any event, the pain and discomfort they occasion seriously interfere with normal life, especially with work and sleep. Said a 70-year-

<sup>44</sup> Early in the period of field work, a student assistant counted 48 of these small ticks embedded in a portion of his body about 6 inches square.



old farmer, "Those cursed little beasts almost killed me last year. I was out cutting some timber for fence posts. Before I knew it, they were all over me in such numbers that I soon came down with a high fever. My legs were so covered with sores that it was nearly 3 months before I could walk well; and now (showing large discolored scars) look at these!" "It is terrible to have to bring in a horse," said a farm boy, "from a pasture full of ticks. You soon begin to itch something awful. You hardly sleep all that night because of these infernal little beasts. They don't kill, but they certainly do make life miserable for a person." The local remedy is *pinga* in which tobacco has been soaked, applied to the affected parts. For animals, garlic is put in the feed. The ticks also are combed out of the hair and tobacco and garlic rubbed over the animal's body. No farmer has equipment for dipping.

There are several kinds of spiders to be found in the community, all of which are nonpoisonous except the *caranguejeira* (*Grammastola*). It is a black, hairy spider and frequents dark places where there is little sunlight. Ordinarily it moves very slowly; at moments of attack or defense, however, it is quick and agile. There are two species. One is large and measures over 3 inches from the tip of the front feet to the tip of the hind feet. The other is smaller, approximately an inch long.

The *caranguejeira* is a serious pest. Care must be taken, for instance, when putting on shoes in the morning to make certain that this spider has not crept into them during the night or, as a villager said, "You will get bitten and you'll go hopping around on one foot for the next 24 hours hollering continuously with the pain." Cats occasionally die from being bitten by this spider, or from incautiously having eaten one.

The local inhabitants use two terms to refer to the various spiders they know: the *tecedeira*, or "web-weaver," which lives only in the timber or brush; and the *caseira*, or "house dweller," of which the *caranguejeira* is only one kind. The other "house dwellers" are called *oncinha* ("little onca") or *caçadeira* ("huntress"), *perna-fina* ("fine legged") or *de forro* ("of the ceiling") and *aranha de parede* ("wall spider"). The *oncinha* or *caçadeira*, is small, seldom reaching over half a centimeter in length, and light gray in color. It is to be seen around doors and windows on sunny days.

It stalks its prey until quite close when, with a sudden leap, it pounces upon it, whence the common name for this spider. The "wall spider" has a rather flat, dark-gray body from which its feet spread out in a circle up to an inch and a half in diameter. It hides in the interstices of doors, behind picture frames or other objects hanging on the wall. Its hunting is ordinarily done at night by artificial light. The *perna-fina* is a small light-gray spider, with a round body about a centimeter across and long, extremely slender legs four to five times the length of the body. It spins a net to catch the mosquitoes and small moths which are its principal food supply.

A serious crop pest is the ant. The most destructive species is the *saúva* (*Atta seadens*). The adult is about three-fourths of an inch long and has sharp mandibles. In a single night, these ants can strip and carry away an unbelievable amount of green leaves from a garden or field, sometimes completely destroying a newly sprouted crop. Only those plants which exude a milky or aqueous substance, like papaya and banana trees, are immune to attack. So serious is the destruction caused by this insect that one commonly hears it said, "*Ou o Brasil acaba com a saúva ou a saúva acaba com o Brasil*" (Either Brazil gets rid of the *saúva* or it will get rid of Brazil). Although this is obviously an overstatement, the threat it emphasizes is none the less serious and real. Local inhabitants call the *saúva*, "the farmer's worst enemy."

Sometime in September or October, the young female *saúvas*, called locally *icás*, heavy with eggs, grow wings, come out of their nests and begin to fly. After being in the air for some 10 to 15 minutes, they settle again. A large proportion die; but other *icás*, having landed on cleared and (even more fortunately) cultivated land, are able to dig a cavity, known as the *panelinha*, into which they subsequently deposit their eggs. The new larvae when hatched will enlarge and extend this nest into a *formigueiro*, or ant hill, of loose dirt, the base of which sometimes reaches 15 feet in diameter.

The *lava-pés* ant (*Solenopsis saevissima*) is a serious threat to onions and peanuts. It attacks the seed in the ground. When attacking animals, it has a sharp and painful bite, as also does the *sará* (*Camponotus rufipes*).



The *cupim*, or termite, is less destructive than the ant. It may fill a field or a pasture, however, with numerous "ant hills," each of which will average around 2½ feet in height, while some hills reach 5 to 6 feet (pl. 20, h). The presence of these hills obviously constitutes a serious problem for the farmer. Not only do they take up considerable space that otherwise might be used for planting, but they seriously impede the operation of animal-drawn implements. These insects also eat their way through wood, and the tunnels thus formed gradually weaken the framework of a house or other building until it eventually collapses. They are difficult to destroy, the most effective means being a strong insecticide in either liquid or powder form.

A case of malaría occasionally appears in the immediate vicinity of the river, thus attesting to the presence of the *Anopheles* mosquito. These cases, however, are quite rare and none have been known to occur in the village itself, at least in recent years. A nonmalarial mosquito, however, known locally as the *pernilongo*,<sup>40</sup> is a quite obnoxious pest to be found in considerable numbers in the area. During the "time of the heat," especially the months from October to December, these mosquitoes are particularly active. They are a source of intense discomfort to both men and animals. "How they do attack chickens!" said a farm boy. "The other night the little fellows in my chicken house began to cheep something awful. I woke up, jumped out of bed and grabbed my gun, thinking a *gambá* had gotten into the chicken house. But I found the little fellows were just 'paying the duck.'"<sup>41</sup> The *pernilongos* were sucking the blood right out of them." A local D. D. T. preparation and another insecticide are now coming to be known in the community, but because of their cost are little used. Other blood-sucking gnats referred to by the inhabitants are the *pólvora* (*Culicoides*) and the related genera, the *borrachudo* (*Simulium*), *cangalhinha*, and *biriqui* (*Phlebotomus*), all of which are very annoying to a man working in the fields or timber.

Serious fly pests, especially so far as livestock is concerned, are the *berneira*, *varejeira*, *beronha*, and *botúca*. The *berneira* (*Dermatobia hominis*) lays eggs on certain flies and mosquitoes which stick to their bodies and eventually hatch into larvae, called *berne*. The latter then pass from their first hosts on to the skin of animals, including, occasionally, man. Digging under the skin, they feed upon the new host until they attain as much as an inch or more in length. Cattle sometimes carry several score of these obnoxious guests at one time. The animals obviously suffer considerably, and their hides eventually become worthless. A subcutaneous swelling 2½ inches in height and 2 inches across was observed to have developed from the action of *berne* on top of the head of a 6-year old child on a farm in the community. The *varejeira* (*Callitroga macellaria*) lay their eggs directly in a break in the skin, as for instance the unhealed navel of a new-born calf, which then hatch into larvae called *vareja*. The action of the latter develops large open sores. The *beronha* is a blue fly which lays its eggs on the ears of animals, especially dogs, or in fresh meat. The *botúca*, elsewhere called the *motuca* (*Tabanidae*), sucks the blood of animals but does not deposit eggs on their bodies. More than 200 species are known in Brazil. Three are spoken of in the community: one that is black in color and reaches nearly an inch in length; a smaller species that is dark green in color; and a still smaller species that is yellowish brown in color. They are all exceedingly persistent in attacking their victims.

One of the ever-present pests which detract from the comfort of men and animals is the flea, its bite being serious, however, only when the part becomes infected. The scorpion is occasionally found in the community. The *curuquerê* (*Alabama argillacea*), a leaf worm, attacks cotton.

Snakes, including several poisonous species, abound in the community. The most common non-poisonous snakes are the boa constrictor, the *massaurana* (*Pseudoboa clausii*), one species of coral known locally as the *baicari-de-duas-cores*<sup>42</sup> (*Erythrolamprus aesculapii*), the *cobra pimenta*

<sup>40</sup> Most, if not all, of the mosquitoes called locally by this term are not actually the *pernilongo* proper, which is of the *Culex* family among whose genera are the malaria-carrying *Anopheles* and the yellow-fever-carrying *Aedes*; they are rather of another family, the *Tipulidae*.

<sup>41</sup> A slang phrase meaning "suffering without reason."

<sup>42</sup> *Boi*, or more accurately *aboi*, is a Guarani word meaning snake; *coral* is a corruption of coral; *de-duas-cores* means "of two colors" and is used to distinguish this snake from the poisonous *de-tres-cores* (of three colors).



(literally, "pepper snake"), *caninana*<sup>48</sup> (*Spilotes pullatus pullatus*), and *cobra cipó* (*Chironius carinatus* or *Philodryas serra*), a tree snake, named for its close resemblance to *cipó*.

Poisonous snakes include the viper,<sup>49</sup> rattlesnake, one species of coral called locally the *boicará-de-três-cores* (*Micrurus corallinus*), *jararaca*, and *urutú*. The *jararaca* and the *urutú* are of the same genus. Of the *jararaca*, three species are known in the community: the common *jararaca* (*Bothrops jararaca*), *jararacussu* (*B. jararacussu*), and *jararaca-do-rabo-branco* (*B. newiedii*). The *urutú* (*B. alternatus*) is sometimes called locally the *urutú cruzeiro* and sometimes the *urutú dourado*. The former term seems originally to have been used in the States of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro and the latter term in Rio Grande do Sul. The two expressions have met and now exist side by side in this community. The *quebra-quebra* or *cobra-de-vidro*,<sup>50</sup> although referred to locally as a snake, is instead a species of lizard (*Ophiodes striatus*). The *cobra cega*, or literally "blind snake," also thought locally to be a snake and a poisonous species at that, is in fact an amphibian (*Siphonops*). The *sucuri* to be found elsewhere in the State of São Paulo is unknown in this community.

Cases of men and animals being bitten are relatively frequent. During the period in which field work was being carried on in the community, for instance, a 19-year-old girl was bitten one evening while walking in a street of the village. Many women do not leave the house at night for fear of them. Local residents commonly say, "I am scared to death of those beasts." A flat-headed snake with a slender neck is avoided or killed at all cost. Neutralizing injections, prepared and distributed by the Government institution at Butantan, are available in the village and neighboring towns. Distance and the difficulties of terrain and transport, however, often make treatment in time difficult.

The habitat, then, furnishes fish, animals, and game birds available for the taking. Especially important are the fats these afford, since the local

supply ordinarily is quite deficient. On the other hand, the principal opposition to the inhabitants, in their struggle for existence in this habitat, is the action of a number of different kinds of noxious insects. Especially prejudicial are the *saúva* ant and the *berneira* fly, the former to the farmer's plants, the latter to his livestock. To reduce the effect of the *berneira* and other flies, an especially hardy breed of cattle from India, the zebu, was introduced into Brazil many years ago and is now being raised in the community. (See pl. 20, g.) To reduce the effects of the *saúva* and other ants, insecticides are employed when the farmer can afford them. Snakes, scorpions, and a poisonous species of spider must also be dealt with.

## POPULATION

In the *distrito*<sup>51</sup> of which the village is a part and which roughly defines the local community, there lived in 1940, according to the Federal census of that year, 2,723 persons. Since there are 190 sq. km. in the *distrito*, this represents a density of 37.1 inhabitants per square mile. Of the total population, 9.1 percent lived in the village,<sup>52</sup> while 90.9 percent lived on farms.

## SEX, AGE, AND RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

Of this population, 1,406, or 51.6 percent, were men and boys; 1,317, or 48.4 percent, were women and girls. Outside the village, the distribution by sex favored the masculine portion of the population, by 52.1 percent to 47.9 percent; in the village itself, the feminine portion was larger, being 53.2 percent to 46.8 percent for the men and boys. No other data for the *distrito* are available from the 1940 census.<sup>53</sup>

In the course of this study, however, population data were collected for the village and for 15 *sítios*, which were visited to obtain various kinds of systematic data. In the 73 houses of the village there are living at present (1948) 331 persons, of whom 169, or 51.1 percent, are men and boys; while 162, or 48.9 percent, are women and

<sup>48</sup> Two groups are distinguished in the community: *caninana-verde* and *caninana-verde*.

<sup>49</sup> Referred to locally as both *othora* and *bifidula*.

<sup>50</sup> Literally, "break-break" and "glass-snake," respectively; so-called, local inhabitants insist, "because upon being struck, it flies to pieces."

<sup>51</sup> A political division similar in part to a township.

<sup>52</sup> The categories "urban" and "suburban," given in the census, have here been combined since the distinction is unrealistic from an ecological point of view.

<sup>53</sup> Census data are published only by the larger political units, the *municípios*. For the information given here, the author is indebted to Carneiro Felipe, director of the Brazilian Serviço de Recenseamento and Professor Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg of the Universidade do Brasil.

girls. On the 15 *sítios*, there are living 158 persons, of whom 81, or 51.3 percent, are men and boys and 77, or 48.7 percent, are women and girls.

In the 25 years from 1923 to 1947, 3,049 babies were born in the *distrito*, according to the records in the village registry office. Of these, 1,559, or 51.1 percent, were boys and 1,490, or 48.9 percent, were girls. The sex ratio at birth, therefore, during this period, was 104.6 boys to 100 girls. During the same period, there were 251 stillbirths,<sup>24</sup> of which 136, or 54.2 percent were males and 115, or 45.8 percent, were females. This represents a ratio of 118.3 males to 100 females. Had these babies been born alive, the sex ratio at birth would have been increased one full point, and be 105.6 to 100.

The rather "balanced" character of the population with reference to sex, in both the village and the surrounding area, is to a considerable extent

duplicated with reference to age. The 5 to 9 age group, however, in proportion to the preceding and succeeding age groups, is numerically deficient in the case of both sexes. The women in the 20 to 24 age group are somewhat less numerous, and in the 35 to 39 age group somewhat more numerous, than in a "normal" distribution. The men are somewhat less numerous in the 50 to 54 and 70 to 74 age groups and somewhat more numerous in the 45 to 49 and 60 to 64 age groups than in a "normal" distribution. A noticeable inequality, numerically, between the sexes appears in the 20 to 24, 45 to 49, and 60 to 64 age groups, where the men are more numerous; and in the 50 to 54 and 70 to 74 age groups where the women are more numerous. These regularities and irregularities are evident in table 6 and the accompanying population pyramid (fig. 2).

<sup>24</sup> Stillbirths were 7.6 percent of all deliveries (3,300).

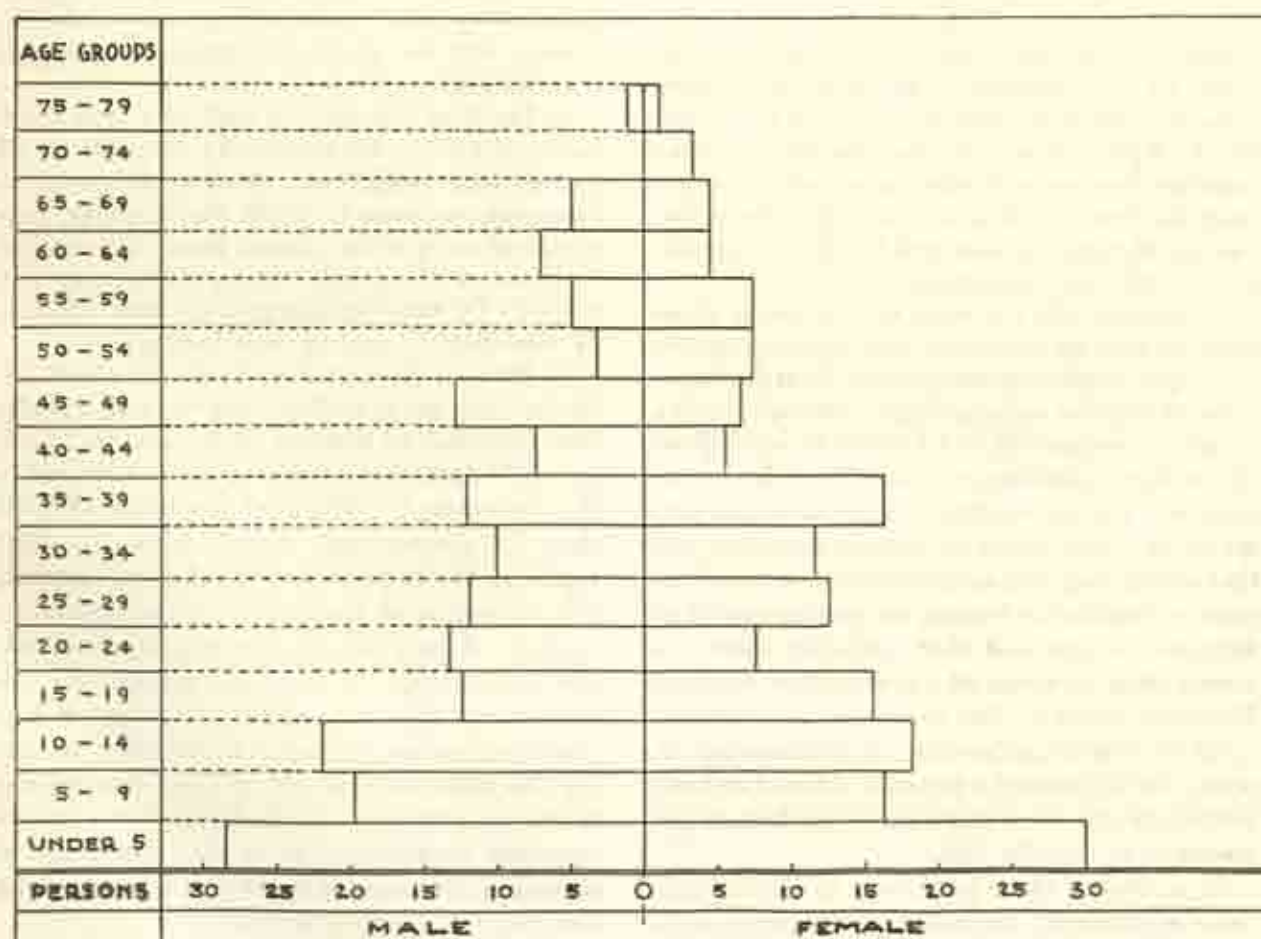


FIGURE 2.—Age and sex pyramid for the population of the village of Cruz das Almas, 1948.



TABLE 6.—Age and sex distribution, village of Cruz das Almas, 1948<sup>1</sup>

Age group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	22	16.8	30	15.5	58	17.5
5-9	10	11.2	16	9.9	35	10.6
10-14	22	13.0	18	11.1	40	12.1
15-19	12	7.1	10	6.3	22	8.1
20-24	13	7.7	7	4.3	20	6.0
25-29	12	7.1	12	7.4	24	7.2
30-34	10	5.9	11	6.8	21	6.3
35-39	12	7.1	16	9.9	28	8.8
40-44	7	4.1	6	3.1	12	3.6
45-49	12	7.7	6	3.7	18	5.7
50-54	5	1.8	7	4.3	12	3.6
55-59	5	3.0	7	4.3	12	3.6
60-64	7	4.1	4	2.5	11	3.3
65-69	5	3.0	4	2.5	9	2.7
70-74	0	.0	3	1.6	3	.9
75-79	1	.6	1	.6	2	.6
Total	169	100.0	162	100.0	331	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Source: Data gathered by research staff.

Statistical data on the present composition of the adult population by either race or color is not available. Of the 2,035 live births in the 17 years from 1931 to 1947, or that period in which color categories were employed in the village records, 1,490, or 73.2 percent, were listed as *brancos* (whites); 506, or 24.9 percent, as *pardos* (browns); 39, or 1.9 percent, as *amarelos* (Japanese). None were listed as *pretos* (blacks), a fact which reflects more the local racial situation<sup>25</sup> than the actual absence of relatively unmixed blacks among children born in the community.

Considering the character of this racial situation, the data in the *branco* and *pardo* categories are subject to considerable question from the standpoint of physical anthropology. Traces of Indian ancestry are apparent in a number of individuals whom local inhabitants invariably refer to as *brancos*. The same is true with reference to persons with visible traces of African ancestry. All that one can say with certainty, then, is that those persons classified as *brancos* are predominantly of European origin and that probably there are among them a number of individuals of unmixed European descent. The remainder are "whites" in the sociological, rather than the anthropological, sense. In this society, a person is white if he looks predominantly like a white and if his friends and associates so consider him.

In a country where sensitivity to racial variations is ordinarily low, one might expect a num-

ber of mixed bloods to be included in the *branco* category and a number of relatively unmixed Negroes to be included in the *pardo* category. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that among the children born during these 17 years not a single *preto* was registered, although several persons at present living in the community who were born during this period give indisputable evidence of being of relatively unmixed African descent.

Of the 148 stillbirths during these 17 years, 58.1 percent were registered as *brancos*, 37.8 percent as *pardos*, and 4.1 percent as *amarelos*. These data indicate that 94.5 percent of all *branco* deliveries were live births and only 5.5 percent were stillbirths; while 90.0 percent of *pardo* deliveries were live births and 10.0 percent were stillbirths; and 86.7 percent of *amarelo* deliveries were live births and 13.3 percent were stillbirths. In other words, the proportion of stillborn to live births among individuals listed as *pardos* is approximately twice that among those listed as *brancos* and the proportion among *amarelos* is even higher.

As has been indicated, in 1920, of a total population of 4,310 in the community, only 101, or 2.3 percent were foreign-born, all of whom were from European countries in which the language, religion, and many other cultural forms were similar to those of the people among whom they had settled. Of these immigrants, 27 were Spanish, 47 were Italians, and 27 were Portuguese.

In 1934, or the most recent year for which statistical data are available, there were, as has also been indicated, 64 Spanish, 56 Italians, 52 Portuguese, 73 Japanese, 6 Syrians, and 2 Germans in the community.<sup>26</sup> Of a total population of 3,780, then, 7.0 percent were foreign-born. In other words, in the 14 years between the two censuses, the proportion of immigrants in the population tripled. A part of this increase, however, was due to shrinkage in the total population. Although statistical data either to confirm or deny the hypothesis are lacking, it is probable that during the years since the last of these censuses was taken, the proportion of the foreign-born has not increased appreciably, if at all. There are at present no Germans or Syrians in the community and only two Japanese families.

<sup>25</sup> See section on Race Relations, p. 159.<sup>26</sup> Thirteen individuals were listed as "unspecified."



## FERTILITY AND LONGEVITY

There are 24 women in the village who are over 50 years of age and hence presumably past the time of child bearing. To these women, 176 children, or an average of more than 7 children each, have been born. One woman has given birth to 15 children and 2 women to 14 children each. Two women have had 12 children, and 2 others, 11. Three women have given birth to 10 children each and 3 to 9 children. One mother has had 8 children. Two women have had 5 children each and 2 others, 4 children. One woman has given birth to 2 children and 2 have had only 1 child. One woman is a spinster and 2 married women are also childless.

Unfortunately, no statistical data on fertility are available for the present community as a whole. In the village, however, there are 66 women between the ages of 15 and 44 inclusive, and 58 children under 5 years of age. For the village, therefore, the fertility ratio is 879 children to 1,000 women. If only the women who are between the ages of 20 and 44 inclusive are taken into consideration, the ratio is 1,137. Obviously, these samples are small and perhaps too limited for a valid statistical statement.

The Federal census of 1920 listed 632 children in the community under 5 years of age. Unfortunately, in the published returns, the 40 to 49 age group is not broken down into its 5-year components so that one may know precisely how many women there were from 15 years of age up to and including 44 years of age. There were 1,018 women between 15 and 49 inclusive; 703 between 20 and 49 inclusive. This would give a fertility ratio of 620.8 per 1,000 in the first case; 899.0 per 1,000 in the second case. It should be borne in mind, however, that this ratio is derived from a group 5 years older than that customary to use as a basis when computing fertility ratios. Data from the 1934 and 1940 censuses on age groups in this community have not been published so that fertility ratios can be computed for these more recent years.

The live births recorded for 1920 were 130. If, then, the total population as given in the census for that year was 4,310, the crude birth rate for 1920 would be 30.2 per 1,000 population. In 1934, when the State census gave 3,780 persons in the community, there were 148 live births; and in

1940, when a subsequent census gave 2,723 persons in the community, there were 93 live births. The crude birth rates for these 2 years, therefore, were, respectively, 39.2 and 34.2.

Obviously, the accuracy of these ratios is dependent upon the accuracy of the censuses and also upon how completely births are recorded. The 1940 census was taken by the *sub-delegado* (see Division of Labor, p. 59), a rather competent man and one who is intimately acquainted with the community. As either relative or *compadre*, he is closely related to a large number of families. The registration of births for 1940, however, may have been incomplete. As has been indicated, only 93 births were recorded in that year. For the previous year, births were given as 152, a sizable variation. It is unfortunate that no data are available on the total population in more recent years, since the present registrar of vital statistics appears to be making a complete record of births. He is an able man who takes pride in the efficiency of his work.

During the 25 years from 1923 to 1947, there were recorded in the *distrito* 1,769 deaths, including 930 of males and 839 of females, the percentages being 52.6 and 47.4, respectively.<sup>47</sup> For 1940, the crude death rate was 20.9 per 1,000 inhabitants. If, then, the crude birth rate for the same year is 34.2, the favorable life balance for that year was 13.3.

These comparatively high rates of natural increase are reflected in the attitude of the inhabitants. A 52-year-old villager is proud of the fact that he has had 23 children, 12 by his first wife and 11 by the second.<sup>48</sup> The latter is again pregnant. Another villager tells of a man living near the neighboring town of Paratinga who has 22 children, all by the same mother. The wife of a village official says with pride that her mother had 15 children, 6 girls and 9 boys.<sup>49</sup> The legend is told in the village of a father of 25 children in a nearby community whose sons formed their own soccer team. "Although only 5 of my 15 children lived to be over 3 years of age," said a farm woman, "and the youngest is not yet married, I already have over 40 grandchildren."

<sup>47</sup> No accurate data on causes of death are available. Few mortal illnesses are attended by a physician and, even in these cases, circumstances do not always permit thorough diagnosis.

<sup>48</sup> Only 11 of the 23, however, are now living.

<sup>49</sup> All of the girls are still living but none of the boys.



Of the persons whose deaths occurred during the 25 years from 1923 to 1947, inclusive, according to the records kept by the village registrar, 150 had reached at least 70 years of age; slightly over half (79) of these were men. Fifty-six were over 80 years of age, 31 of whom were women. Twenty-one were over 90 years of age, 13 of whom were women. Six were over 100, all of whom were women; four of these were over 110 years each and two were listed as over 120 years. Of the 635 persons living to be at least 20 years of age, 23.6 percent were 70 years or more at the time of death; 41.4 percent were 80 years or more; 56.1 percent were 90 years or more.

It is possible that there is some error in at least the upper ranges of these statistics. In a few cases, no registry may have been made of the individual's birth. At least one elderly person now living in the village does not know her precise age. At the same time, it is clear that a considerable number of persons in this community have lived to what is referred to as "a ripe old age." If an individual survives the first 5 years of life, where the mortality rate, as will be apparent in the next section, is quite high, he has an even chance of reaching 50 years of age; he has nearly one chance in four of reaching 70 years of age; and he may live to be 100 years or older. A midwife says her father was 101 years old at his death, and her mother was 96. A village official tells of a former resident now living in a nearby town who has been married 80 years and is now 106 years old. His wife is also living.

These and similar cases have given rise to a legend of longevity in the area. A man from a neighboring town was heard to remark: "Ever so often, I hear that So-and-So has died at Such-and-Such a place and that someone else has died somewhere else, but I never hear of anyone dying in Cruz das Almas." Although obviously an overstatement, this remark emphasizes the hardihood of the local population.

#### INFANT MORTALITY

As has been suggested, the rate of infant mortality is comparatively high. Of 10 mothers interviewed at random, only one had not lost a child. She was a young woman 22 years of age, and had two children living. One other mother had lost six children and a third had lost five. The remain-

ing seven women had lost one child each. The 10 mothers had thus lost 18 children in all. The ages at death ranged from 9 days to 4 years, the majority being in the early months of life.

The 24 women referred to above, who are over 50 years of age and hence presumably past the child-bearing period, had given birth, as was indicated, to 176 children. Of these, only 84, or less than one-half, are now living. Whereas the number of children born averaged over seven for each mother, the average number now living is something over three.

In 1947, there were registered in the community 111 live births and 18 deaths under 1 year of age. The infant mortality rate for this year, therefore, was 162 per 1,000 live births. In the 25 years from 1923 to 1947, there were recorded 522 deaths under 1 year of age and 3,049 live births. This represents an average of 122 births and 20.9 infant deaths annually. For these 25 years, therefore, the average infant mortality rate was 172.1.

Of the 1,769 persons whose deaths were recorded during the same 25 years, 18.7 percent had died under 6 months of age; 26.6 percent under 1 year; 43.4 percent under 2 years; and over half, or 55.3 percent, under 5 years. Only about a third (35.4 percent) were over 21 years of age at the time of death.

There does not seem to be any appreciable difference in the infant mortality rate with reference to either sex or color. Slightly more male infants die under 6 months of age and this proportion maintains itself rather constantly during the first years of life, an apparently universal phenomenon which in this community, as elsewhere, is offset by the favorable balance of boy babies at birth. Of the deaths recorded in the community between 1923 and 1947 inclusive, the proportion of the deaths occurring in each sex group, which pertained to children under 5 years of age is shown in table 7.

TABLE 7.—Deaths under 5 years of age, by sex, Cruz das Almas community, 1923-47<sup>1</sup>

Age	Males	Females	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Under 6 months	20.2	17.1	18.7
Under 1 year	27.4	25.8	26.6
Under 2 years	44.6	42.7	43.4
Under 5 years	56.8	55.7	55.3

<sup>1</sup> Source: Records of village registrar of vital statistics.



During the 18 years from 1930 to 1947, inclusive, or that period in which color categories were employed in local records, none of the deaths under 5 years of age was recorded as that of a *preto*. This fact, however, is probably due to the character of the racial situation rather than to the absence of relatively unmixed Negro children among the deceased. For these 18 years, the proportion of the deaths occurring in each color group listed, which pertained to children under 5 years of age, is shown in table 8.

TABLE 8.—Deaths under 5 years of age, by color group, Cruz das Almas community, 1923-47<sup>1</sup>

Age	Branco	Pardo	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Under 6 months.....	21.1	17.0	19.0
Under 1 year.....	29.6	33.0	29.8
Under 2 years.....	45.9	42.0	42.8
Under 5 years.....	55.0	54.8	52.0

<sup>1</sup> Source: Records of village registrar of vital statistics.

Statistical data on causes of death are impossible to obtain with accuracy. As has been indicated, few deaths are attended by a competent medical practitioner and the causes given by parents or other relatives, many of whom are illiterate, obviously do not constitute reliable information. Observation would lead one to conclude, however, that among the principal causes of infant deaths in this community are respiratory diseases, especially bronchitis and pneumonia, digestive disturbances and dysentery, complicated by the action of intestinal worms and by deficiencies in the diet and in sanitation.

#### MOBILITY

The mobility of the population is relatively low. Travel is limited largely to visiting the neighboring towns of Boa Vista and Piracema on the occasion of religious and secular festivals, pilgrimages, and (in recent years) soccer games in which the local team participates. Farmers living on the margin of the community visit these towns and also Paratinga and São José dos Patos to make purchases, as do other farmers and a few villagers on more infrequent occasions. Of the families on 17 farms visited, three buy salt, coffee, kerosene, and similar necessities in one of the neighboring towns and three other families buy a part of these items there. The other part is purchased in the

village, as are all such items used by the other 11 families. Some of these 11 families, however, as do the other 6 families, buy all or a part of their farm tools, cooking utensils, and clothing in these neighboring towns. Three families, on infrequent occasions, make a few of such purchases even in São Paulo. Five families have relatives whom they occasionally visit, living in one or more of these neighboring towns, and three families have relatives in communities which are farther away, or even in São Paulo.

Several villagers, however, and other persons living on farms, especially the women and girls, seldom or never go outside the community. "I've never even been to Boa Vista," said a 16-year-old girl in the village. "When my sister married and moved away she wanted me to go along with her for a few days but I wouldn't go. *Deus me liere!*" "I don't want to be away from here. I would get too homesick for my mother." Several farm women, although they live only a comparatively short distance from the village, visit even it only occasionally.

As has been indicated, a few families migrated to the community some years ago from another community about 25 miles to the south and, sometime later, a few other families from still another community some forty miles to the east. A considerable number of the members of these families or their descendants now live in the village or on nearby farms. In more recent years, several families or unattached men also moved into the community, especially from the neighboring State of Minas Gerais and remained for some time while the men were employed in cutting timber and a few of these families and unattached individuals stayed on after the land had been cleared.

The number of persons involved in these migrations, however, was so small in proportion to the total population and the cultural characteristics of the incoming migrants were so closely related to those of the local inhabitants, that the effects upon the local society and culture have been minimal. The new population elements apparently were taken into the local society and absorbed with relative ease and a minimum of change and disorganization.

In 1934, according to the State census of that year, 98.01 percent of the persons in the com-

<sup>2</sup> "God deliver me (from that)!"



munity who were Brazilian-born were native to the State of São Paulo. In other words, of a total population of 3,780, only 70 persons had been born in other Brazilian states. Of these, approximately two-thirds had come from the neighboring States of Minas Gerais (38), Paraná (4), Rio de Janeiro (3), and Mato Grosso (1). Ten individuals had come from the Federal District, about 300 miles away. The other 14 persons were from 7 different states: Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, Sergipe, Piauí, Ceará, and Pará.

Of 17 farms on which systematic data were collected, 6, or approximately one-third of the heads of families had been born on the farm where they are now living. The ages of these men were, respectively, 48, 46, 43, 38, 31, and 27 years. Of the remaining 11 heads of families, each had spent, respectively, on the farm now occupied the following number of years: 31, 26, 25, 20, 20, 18, 10, 6, 4, 2, and 1.

Of these 11 heads of families, 7 had been born in the community; consequently moving to the farm now occupied reflects merely migration within the community. Of the four other men, two had come from a nearby community about 30 years ago, and one somewhat more recently from the neighboring State of Minas Gerais. The other man was born in Italy but was brought by his parents to Brazil when only 3 years of age and came to this community a number of years ago.

Of the 331 persons in the village, 249, or approximately three-fourths, were born there. The other one-fourth has been in the village an average of 14 years for each person. Thirteen have resided there from 35 to 55 years, and 26 others from 4 to 30 years each.

The remaining 43 persons have been in the village only from 6 months to 3 years. With the exception of four unattached individuals, however, they belong to only eight families. The heads of four of these families have come to work on the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village, where a considerable acreage of timber is being cut. One family of eight persons is that of the *soldado*, a police official assigned to the village by the State authorities. The head of another family is a tin-smith.

Of the persons who have recently come to the village, all but 13 were born in the State of São Paulo. Most were born within a comparatively few miles of the village and only one comes from more than a hundred miles away. Nine persons are from other states, five from the neighboring State of Minas Gerais. One person is from each of the States of Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, Ceará, and Rio Grande do Norte. Only four persons are foreign-born: one is from Spain, one from Switzerland, and two persons, a man and his wife, are from Japan.

There has been a considerable outward migration in recent years. According to the 1920 Federal census, as we have seen, the *distrito* at that time had a population of 4,310. The 1940 census, however, lists only 2,723 persons in the community. This is 1,587 less than in 1920 and represents a net decrease of 36.8 percent. If one also takes into consideration the comparatively high birth rate and the yearly margin of births over deaths, it is clear that a considerable migration occurred during the 20 years between the two censuses.

Presumably the major portion of this outward movement took place in the more recent of these years. According to the State census for 1934, there were at that time 3,780 persons living in the *distrito*. The net reduction in the population from 1920 to 1934 was therefore only 520, or 12 percent. The remaining 24.8 percent of the decrease from 1920 to 1940 thus must have occurred between 1934 and the latter date.

Twenty-five persons belonging to village families are living outside the village. Ten are women, who range in age from 15 to 37 years. Four of the women are living on farms in the same community. Three others have married men who are now living outside the community. Three young women are working as servants in neighboring towns.<sup>61</sup> The 15 men range in age from 20 to 53 years. Five, or one-third, are living on farms in the community. The mothers of six others are widows who own no land.

Of 27 persons whom a villager remembers as having left the community during his lifetime, 23 went either to neighboring towns, principally Boa Vista and São José dos Patos, or neighboring farm communities. Three migrated to communi-

<sup>61</sup> Shortly after this was written, two of these girls returned to the village after being away less than 6 months each.



ties not over 60 miles away and only one moved a further distance. Of these migrants, most had been born in the village or had lived there from 15 to 40 years each.

Indicative of the high degree of solidarity in the village is the fact that many persons, especially among the older inhabitants, show considerable reluctance to move away. The tax collector, a man 60 years of age who was born in the community and who has been collector for 29 years, received an order from his superiors some months ago to transfer to a town about a hundred miles to the south. He made every effort to have this order rescinded. "If some way had not been worked out so that I could stay here," he says, "I would have given up the job. Imagine me going to that *cafundó de Judas!*"<sup>22</sup> They ought to know I couldn't leave this village like that." "I was raised here," said another villager, "and I like this place. I wouldn't live anywhere else."

Moreover, migration from the community is not necessarily definitive. Mobility tends to take on, in many cases, the character of what might be called extended fluidity. A man who came to the community 46 years ago subsequently moved to the neighboring town of Boa Vista where he remained a few years before returning to the village. "I like it here," he says, "I don't ever want to leave again." Another village official who also was born in the community, once worked for a year in a nearby town but returned to the village with immense satisfaction. A man 35 years of age, who especially likes to hunt, is thinking of accepting an offer to work in a nearby city. "I shall come back often to hunt," he says. "When people leave here," remarked a school teacher who has lived in the village for many years, "they like to go to Boa Vista, since it's close by and they can get back without much trouble. When they move, they seem to leave, thinking of the time when they can return."

Except in those cases, then, where ownership of land links the individual more firmly to the soil, there would seem to be considerable moving about from place to place in search of more favorable conditions in the struggle for existence. This movement, however, is ordinarily made over only a

limited distance. It indicates, perhaps, a certain restlessness in the population, especially of those persons who do not own land.

This movement may represent the persistence of one of those few vestiges of Indian culture, a restlessness handed on from seminomadic ancestors. It perhaps is also of considerable significance in explaining the cultural homogeneity of the region. It apparently has been going on in the community, as elsewhere in the region, for a long period of time. Of 77 free men, for example, who were married in the community between the years 1818 and 1828, about two-fifths (33) were listed in the parish records as coming from outside the community. The distance they had traveled, however, was not great. Eleven, or one-third, were from neighboring communities only a few miles away. Their meeting and marrying local young women therefore may have in some, if not all, cases, merely reflected contact between neighboring communities. Twelve were from other places within 25 miles of the village. Nine were from still other communities within 40 miles of the village. Only one man had come a further distance; he was from a northern state, about 1,300 miles away.

As is true today, the women at that time were much less mobile. Of the 77 marriage partners, only 10 were not born in the immediate vicinity of the village and 8 of these were from neighboring communities. The other two came from places not over 25 miles away.

One of the effects of mobility, coupled with the fragmentation of properties described below (see section on Wealth and Property, p. 95), appears to have been to remove completely from the community the class of *fazendeiros*, or large landowners, who supervised their agricultural holdings but did not themselves work the land. At least a few must once have lived in the community, although no present resident recalls one having moved away. There are, however, none today.

#### HYGIENE AND BODY HABITS

Children who have attended the village school know at least the main principles of hygiene. "You should wash your face, comb your hair, and brush your teeth every day," wrote a school boy. "When you cough, you should put a handkerchief over your mouth so the microbes won't come out

<sup>22</sup> "The end of the world." *Cafundó*, apparently of African origin, means "military place." The addition of *de Judas* (of Judas) gives the expression superlative force.



and go to other people." "You should take a bath every day," wrote another school boy, "so as to clean out the pores. You should also put on clean clothes, especially to sleep in. Your finger nails should not be allowed to go dirty. The house should be swept often. Sheets, pillow cases, and blankets should be kept clean so that lice, bed-bugs, fleas, and such things won't get in them. The fruit and vegetables you eat should be well washed."

Acceptance of these principles, however, is often reflected more in word than in deed, and the word sometimes reveals this fact. "All of us should have hygiene," wrote one of the same boys, "because hygiene is a beautiful thing." "Many people think hygiene is a luxury," wrote the other boy, "but it's a thing everyone should love. God loves hygiene very much."

The level of cleanliness varies somewhat throughout the community. At least two of the farm houses visited were well-swept, dusted, clean and neat. The tablecloths on the kitchen and dining-room tables were immaculate. Another farm woman showed her freshly laundered household linen with pride and said, "I like to keep everything clean and ready to use when I need it." Towels, sheets, and pillowcases had been wrapped in a cloth to keep out the dust. At least a third of the 38 houses in the village which were visited during the course of this study ordinarily are kept as clean as is possible, perhaps, under the conditions of their construction. The members of several families, including a few of the less privileged economically, were observed always to be dressed cleanly and neatly.

Clearing the throat and spitting on the floor, however, on the part of both adults and children, is a generalized habit. At one of the larger houses on the farms visited, dogs, cats, goats, and chickens walked in the open door and roamed about at will. The mother and other members of the family paid little or no attention to these intrusions, even when the animals defecated on the earthen floor. When the 11-month-old baby wished to urinate, his aunt, who was leaning up against the kitchen door holding him, merely turned his body slightly away. Later, a 3-year-old boy went over in a corner to urinate by the kitchen stove.

The floor of the kitchen in the house of a villager was covered with peanut shells and other

refuse. A goat was sleeping in the center of the room. None of the clothing of the grandmother, mother, or children had been washed for a long time. When the 8-month-old baby dropped on the earthen floor a piece of bread which his mother had given him to eat, one of the other children picked it up out of the dirt and handed it to the mother who dusted it off slightly and gave it back to the baby.

One of the more obvious facts noticed about farm dwellings is the care given to keeping the *terreiro* clean. The *terreiro* is a space around the house completely cleared of vegetation. It is usually somewhat more extensive to the front and back of the house than along the sides. It is swept daily to remove all free dust from the hard-packed earth. Not uncommonly, it is kept cleaner than the floors inside the house. A farm mother who was observed carefully sweeping the *terreiro* remarked, "I always like to keep it very clean."

The discrepancy often seen between the cleanly swept *terreiro* outside and the less cleanly kept earthen floors inside is difficult to understand from a hygienic point of view. It is perhaps possible that the *terreiro* is one of the few traits of Indian origin still extant in the local culture. A farmer who was asked why flowers or other plants were not put around his house, replied, as if the statement were self-explanatory, "But that's the place for the *terreiro*." Another farmer, however, who was asked the same question, gave the rather plausible reply, "We keep it clean so that the *bichos*<sup>22</sup> won't get in the house. If there was anything close up to the building, they would come right in." In fact, the *terreiro* would seem to be a rather necessary precaution, considering the presence in the region, in considerable numbers, of scorpions, poisonous snakes and spiders, and other noxious pests, and that all land which is not periodically cleared is soon covered over with dense growth.

Although the range of behavior varies from family to family, bathing is relatively infrequent and usually only a part of the body is washed at a time. By the phrase "taking a bath," local inhabitants usually mean washing the feet or some other part that is especially dirty. To take a *banho de assento* is to wash the lower extremities from the waist down. The older children sometimes bathe

<sup>22</sup> Any animal, reptile, or insect is called a *bicho*.



the younger. "At night, after supper," remarked a mother in the village, "the children take a bath before going to bed. Ana and José put the baby<sup>66</sup> in the basin and wash him. The others wash their feet, or maybe their arms—whatever is needed to keep from getting the beds dirty." The river or creek furnishes a ready means of keeping clean, especially for the boys.

Brushing the teeth is comparatively rare. "When I asked the children the other day if they had brushed their teeth," remarked a school teacher, "one boy said, 'I brush mine every day with father's tooth brush. Father brushes first, then mother, then me and my sisters.'"

The wife and mother, both in the village and on the farm, washes the family's clothes, except when incapacitated by reason of childbirth or illness or when relieved of this duty by a daughter or other woman in the household. Nearly all farm women wash clothes in a nearby brook or creek (pl. 7), as also do several women in the village. Many village homes, however, as has been indicated, have water piped into them, and seven also have a cement tank for washing clothes. On one of the 17 farms visited, a cement tank is located at the side of the house, to which water is brought from a nearby stream by way of a small ditch. On another farm, water has similarly been diverted from a brook that passes near the house and let to run the last few yards through a bamboo cane and fall into a barrel, where it is handy for washing as well as other purposes. A third farm has a well 46 feet deep back of the house. The washing of clothes on all the other farms visited is done at nearby streams, the distance from the kitchen varying from 10 to 540 yards and averaging 140 yards.

Washing is done in cold water and usually with home-made soap, especially on the farms, or cheap laundry soap purchased at a village store. The clothes are first dipped in water and soaped well. Each piece is then doubled over and struck forcibly a number of times against a board or rock, and then spread out to bleach for a few hours in the bright tropical sunlight. Subsequently, the clothes are taken up, rinsed and put out to dry completely before they are taken into the house.

In a number of cases, houses are kept cleaner than the everyday clothes of the members of the

family. The work clothes often are worn quite soiled. It is common to see a mother clean the nose of her baby or other small child with the hem of its garment.

There is often evident, however, a genuine desire to appear to better advantage, especially to outsiders. Mothers continually apologize for the appearance of their children who, in many cases, have of necessity to play on earthen floors. As one mother said, "I gave my child a bath last night and put clean clothes on her this morning and now see how she looks! She crawls around in the dirt all day and I just can't keep her clean."

On the farm, with rare exceptions, bodily elimination is usually taken care of in a nearby piece of timber or brush. An occasional farm family has a privy back of the house, as do about a third of the families in the village. It is usually located about 12 to 15 yards from the kitchen door. A *fossa* is dug in the ground about 6 to 7 feet deep and 3 feet across. A board floor is laid over this excavation, and a small opening is cut in the center. A rude shelter some 5 to 6 feet in height is then erected, usually of brick and with a tile roof, although in at least one case, the sides and the roof are of galvanized iron. The building is called the *caxinha* (little house), the term *privada* (privy) rarely being used. Due to the type of soil some of these excavations never fill; others are from time to time covered over with dirt and abandoned and a new *fossa* dug nearby. One villager uses lime in the *fossa*, a portion being put in once every 3 months. Toilet paper is not used, leaves from trees or bushes being used instead or, when available, old newspapers.

Since houses, both on the farms and in the village, are usually too small to afford more than one bedroom, in many cases the entire family sleeps in the same room. In a farmer's home visited, for instance, the father and mother sleep on a narrow double bed while a 7-year-old daughter and a 5-year-old son sleep on the same bed at their feet. A 13-year-old daughter sleeps on a small child's bed in the same room. In another home, nine persons—the father, mother, and their children, aged 1 to 18 years, and including a 13- and a 15-year-old daughter—sleep in one room and the adjoining space between it and the kitchen, where a *girau*<sup>66</sup> has been placed. In a third farm-

<sup>66</sup> Eleven months old.

<sup>66</sup> See *Dwellings and Furnishings*, p. 44.



house, a father, mother, and six children, aged 6 months to 12 years, all sleep in the same room. A village family of a father, mother, and four children (aged 10, 7, 4, and 1 year, respectively) sleep in the same room. The 10-year-old son of one of the village officials sleeps in a small bed in the same room with his parents. These arrangements are rather general in the community. With a few exceptions, children and parents in the village and on the farms ordinarily sleep in the clothes or undergarments which they have used during the day.

Piercing the ears of girls for the wearing of earrings is a universal custom. Usually it is done while the child is quite small. Sometimes the child is taken to a pharmacist in Boa Vista. Most commonly, however, the piercing is done in the home, either by the mother or an older sister or a neighbor woman who has had considerable experience. Thread is covered with wax and passed through the lobe with a needle and left for several days. Each morning, it is pulled back and forth a few times.

Considerable social pressure is put upon families to have the ears of the girls pierced. "My husband," remarked a farm woman, "always says, 'Why hurt the girls that way? Wait until they grow up. If they want to have their ears pierced then, it's all right.' But everyone else keeps telling me, 'Your girls look like boys. Aren't you going to have their ears pierced pretty soon?'"

In quite recent years, a girl or a younger woman in the village or on the farm will occasionally arrange a "permanent wave" in Boa Vista. Hair dyeing is rare. The use of rouge and lipstick are also rare, although the use of the latter is increasing, especially among the younger women. "If you wear it during the week," said a girl in the village, "people will talk. I put it on only when there is a *fiesta* or when I go to Boa Vista." In recent years, an occasional young woman in the village or on the farms has also begun to paint her finger nails.

## TECHNIQUES OF SUBSISTENCE

To enable them to survive in the struggle for existence, and to satisfy other needs, certain techniques either have been developed by the inhabitants themselves or have been applied from the cultures which they originally brought with them.

The simplest technique has been merely to collect the natural resources supplied by the habitat. Of more complex character, however, have been other means of helping to supply the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and protection: the development of agricultural activities, the raising of domestic animals, the use of ordinarily simple tools, means of transport and distribution, and the application of certain rudimentary manufacturing processes. In supplying these wants, use has also been made of a simple division of labor, a medium of exchange, and a system of property holding.

## EXTRACTIVE ACTIVITIES

Especially since the settlement in the area of Europeans and their descendants, the economy has been predominantly agricultural. At the same time, the inhabitants have long taken advantage of certain natural resources furnished freely by the habitat. Even today, there still exists food resources available for the taking, as well as plant and mineral resources.

## FOOD COLLECTING

Fish, animals, and game birds, as has been indicated, are available in the habitat, as well as certain wild fruits and such local food delicacies as the *igá*.

## HUNTING, FISHING, AND TRAPPING

No one in the community makes his living hunting, fishing, or trapping. Nor does anyone spend any appreciable part of a week or month so employed. At the same time, considerable hunting, fishing, and trapping are done in the community. Although these activities probably possess some of the characteristics of sport, they still maintain to a considerable degree their original function of furnishing food for the local inhabitants.

As indicated in the section on Wildlife, p. 17, several animals and game birds are still to be found in the local timber or brush. Among the animals, the *paca*, *capybara*, *coati*, wild pig, and deer especially are hunted, their meat being highly prized as a welcome addition to the local diet. Of the fat of the *capybara*, local inhabitants say, "it purifies the blood and strengthens the body."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> It can be purchased in the pharmacies of the cities under its trade name.



Among the game birds, the meat of the *nhambú-guassá*, *nhambú-chororó*, *urú*, and the various members of the dove family, in particular the *juriti* and the *rolinha*, is considered "of delicate flavor and quite delicious." The meat of the *jacú* is dark and somewhat tough and usually is prepared by stewing instead of frying. Also occasionally taken for food, as has been indicated, are the *frango d'agua*, *pichororé*, *sabiá-poca*, *saracura*, *codorna*, and partridge.

The rifle and shotgun are employed in hunting. In most instances, the latter is a muzzle-loading gun, of either one or two barrels, called the *pica-pau*. A small amount of powder is poured into the barrel, a bit of paper or cloth wadding is inserted and tamped down firmly with a wooden or metal ramrod. A quantity of shot is then poured in, a second wadding rammed home, and a cap to ignite the powder is set where the trigger strikes. Occasionally to be seen also is the *reiuna*, a muzzle-loading gun used in the Paraguayan War (1865-1870). Boys occasionally bring down birds with sling shots made by fastening two bands of rubber to a forked stick. A few men make *pios*, or bird whistles, of native woods, with which they imitate the cry of different game birds as an aid in hunting. The *arapuca*, used for trapping game birds and small animals, is described elsewhere.<sup>47</sup>

Hunting is a favorite activity of many men and boys in the village and on the farms. "I hunt a great deal," said a farmer. "I like to be in the woods. With a good *fação*,<sup>48</sup> I can go any place." Since the supply of game animals and birds is diminishing, hunting is allowed by law only 5 months of the year, from April through August.

A not inconsiderable part of the conversation of the men of the community, when they get together, is given over to recounting tales of hunting exploits, similar to the following:

We went hunting one day along the river. There were five of us—Zé, Little Boots, Quim, Juca, and me. We rode out to the *ranchinho*,<sup>49</sup> unsaddled our horses and left them there. Then we walked on a ways. When we got to a place called Jaguarí, we turned the dogs loose. They took off up the hill baying and yelping. Quim's spotted dog, Danuvio, soon ran into a *paca* but lost it in the brush. My black dog, Barão, came charging up the hill and ran right into the *paca*. Then everybody began to shout and yell. "Sick 'em, Bisôga," Zé shouted to his dog. "Go getum!"

The *paca*, with the dogs right on top of him, came charging down toward Juca. He kicked at it viciously as it went past him and plunged down into the river. Juca ran to the bank and saw it swimming out a little ways with its head above the water. He shot at it. Quim then shouted, "What kind of lead did you use, light or heavy?"

"Light."

"She's in the salt, then."

As he yelled this, Quim put out in a small boat and, coming up to the *paca*, grabbed her with his fishgig. She was badly wounded. We then went on up the river. Juca's dog, Cachue, soon ran into a *capicara* which was swimming among the *guapé* plants. I shot it, and we took it along.

On the way back, we stopped for lunch. Suddenly, Quim spied a small deer swimming down the river toward an opening on the bank. Malhado, that spotted dog of mine, also saw it and tore out after it just as it left the bank and soon caught up with it. Quim shot it and we took it along.

We got one more *capicara*. It was Little Boots who shot that one. He was on the other side of the river. He shouted that he had shot the animal through the head but when we came up and looked at it, the wound was in the rump. We kidded him something awful.

So we came home with two *capicaras*, a *paca* and a deer. Not a bad hunt! We also caught a lot of fish later that day.

As also indicated in the section on Wildlife, p. 17, several kinds of fish are caught in the vicinity. The nearby river furnishes a ready supply and fish also are to be found in more limited numbers in the creeks in the area. Occasionally, several men in the village will spend 1 or 2 days together at the river fishing, and men and boys also fish in smaller groups or alone. The means employed include the hook and line, the trotline, the fish trap (*covo*), and the *tarrafa*, the relative frequency in which they are used being in that order. The hook and line are employed for all fish except the *cascudo*, and especially for *acará*, *bágre*, *traíra*, *lambari* and *picapitinga*. Hooks are of metal and factory-made. Lines ordinarily are also purchased. Occasionally, however, a line is still spun locally from *tucum* fiber which is especially strong and water-resistant. Fishing poles are of bamboo, or *taguara*, cut in the local timber. The trotline is a heavy cord, stretched across the river, with hooks suspended every few inches. It is used principally for *bágre*. The *fisga*, or local fishgig, instead of being employed in fishing, is used to spear *paca* when one of these animals has been wounded and is trying to escape by swimming in the river. It has a steel blade about 8 inches long with a sharp barb (fig. 3).

<sup>47</sup> See The Arapucas, p. 86.

<sup>48</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, pp. 51, 53.

<sup>49</sup> A rude shelter built in the timber along the river.



FIGURE 3.—*Fisga*, or local fishgiz, used to pull a *peca* or similar animal out of the river when it is trying to escape by swimming.

The *covo*, or fish trap, is made of woven strips of *taquara* (pl. 9, \*). It is conical in form, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 feet long and 14 inches in diameter at the base. Inside, beginning at the larger end, there is woven inward a second and smaller cone, the weaving of which is terminated a few inches from the apex so that the vertical strips of *taquara*, which are light and pliable, may easily be pushed apart by an entering fish. Once inside, however, the fish, on turning, is faced with the sharp ends of these strips which have closed together behind it, and is effectively trapped. A few inches from the apex of the outer cone, weaving has similarly been terminated, and the vertical strips of *taquara*, thus left dangling, are tied together with *cipó* or cord. By unfastening these strips, a man may readily remove his catch. Although other kinds of fish are occasionally caught in it, the *covo* is used most for *cascudo*, *bágre*, and *mandi*.

The *tarrafa* is a circular net about 10 feet in diameter, made of stout cord or *tucum* fiber. The edges are doubled inward and every 6 to 8 inches lead sinkers are attached. A strong cord is fastened to the center of the net to pull it in after casting. The fisherman casts the net from the margin of the river, or from a boat, or while standing in the water at a likely place. After carefully folding the net, a feat which can only be done easily after long experience, the fisherman takes the central cord in one hand and, grasping the edge of the net in the other, awaits an opportune moment for his cast. When a fish is sighted or he otherwise thinks a cast likely to be productive, the fisherman bends his usually supple body in a graceful arc and with both hands flings the net outward in such a way that, as it drops on the water, it is completely spread out and remains at least partially open until it has settled to the bottom of the river. Pulling carefully on the cord, he aids the closing of the heavy lead sinkers around whatever fish happen to be underneath. The fish, feeling the net close over them, often entangle themselves the more with their efforts to escape. Pulling in the net carefully so that it does not leave the bottom of the river until all the leads

have closed together, the fisherman releases his catch, carefully folds up the net again, and prepares for another cast.

The bait used to catch fish with pole or trotline includes fish worms (*minhoca*), small fish, *siriri*, and *icá*. As has been indicated, *siriri* are termites at the flying stage in their development and *icá* are the females of the *saíva* ant, also at the flying stage and heavy with eggs. Fish worms are used the year around, especially to catch *acará*, *bágre*, and *mandi*. *Siriri* and *icá* are used when available, usually in September and October, especially to catch *pirapitinga* and *lambari*, including the *piquirá*. Small *acará* and *lambari* are used to hook the *traíra*. A basket made of *taquara* and measuring about 12 by 24 inches on the sides and 12 inches deep, and suspended from a bamboo pole about 12 feet long, used to be used to catch fish in considerable quantities, especially the *lambariguassú*, as they leaped a falls in the river on their way upstream to spawn. Its use is now prohibited by law.

#### WILD FRUITS

As has been indicated, several kinds of wild fruit are available in patches of native timber and especially in the virgin *mata*. A number of these fruits are used by the inhabitants, including the *araçá*, *araticum*, *gabirolôba*, *ingá*, *jabacari*, *jaboticaba*, *maracujá*, *pitanga*, and *uvaia*.

With the exception of the *gabirolôba* (*Britoa sellowiana*), each of these several fruits is quite common. Most of them ripen sometime between November and March. The *jabacari* (*Psidium guajava*) grows on a bush which averages 5 to 6 feet in height. The leaves are dark green and glossy. The fruit is rather sweet and otherwise tastes somewhat like a plum. At first, it is yellowish green in color. As it ripens, however, in December and January, it becomes similar in appearance and size to the Concord grape, and when fully ripe, it is almost black. The seeds are relatively large and vary from two to four to a fruit. It is also variously referred to in the community as *guapacari*, *pacapari*, and *parapari*.



The *maracujá* is a local species of the passion flower (*Passiflora edulis*); the fruit is yellow when ripe. The juice of the *uvaia* (*Eugenia uvalha*) is used with *pinga*.<sup>18</sup> When ripe, the *gabiôba*, *aragá* (*Psidium* sp.), *uvaia*, *ingá*, and *araticum* (*Annona* sp.) are all yellowish in color. The *pitanga* (*Eugenia uniflora*) is reddish and the *jaboticaba* (*Myrciaria* sp.) is dark purple. There are two kinds of *ingá* (*Inga* spp.) distinguished locally, the *mirim* and the *ferradura*.

The root of the *caraguatá* (*Bromelia antiacantha*) is also sometimes made use of for food. *Pinhões*, or pine nuts, taken from an occasional pine tree, are much liked by the inhabitants.

#### ICÁ

The *icá*<sup>19</sup> or female *saúva* ant at the flying stage when the abdomen is heavy with eggs, is caught and used for food. "Some people," a villager remarked, "would give their lives to eat *icá*." "There are people," said another villager, "who like *icá* so much they even make *passoca*<sup>20</sup> of them." "There isn't anyone who wouldn't like *icá*," remarked a farm woman, "if he once tasted them. Just to try them is to like them."

Opinion on this point, however, is divided in the community. "I've eaten *icá* only once," said another farm woman, "and that was when a neighbor gave me some. My mother never fixed them for us when we were children." "I used to eat them when I was a girl," said a woman in the village, "but my husband doesn't like them and since I've been married, I haven't had any." "All our family except my brother-in-law," another woman remarked, "likes them a lot. He says, 'Who would eat ants, those nasty little things that destroy our crops!' But it seems to me that because of that very fact you ought to set your teeth into them with greater relish."

The technique of preparing *icá*, as given by different farm women, is as follows:

"I put them into a skillet with a little fat and toast them. Then I make a strong *sarmona*<sup>21</sup> and pour it into the skillet and let it dry away."

"I put them into a skillet with salt and toast them a bit. Then I dump them into a *peneira*<sup>22</sup>

and winnow them well until the wings and pincers are all blown out. Then I put them back into the skillet with some fat and toast them some more."

"I put them into the *forno*<sup>23</sup> and stir them up with salt. When they are well toasted, I take them out and pick out the legs and pincers. The tasty part is the abdomen (egg sack)."

#### FOREST UTILIZATION

Local timber resources have probably been utilized for firewood and building purposes ever since there were inhabitants in the region and for lumber and charcoal since probably the first years of European settlement. Only in comparatively recent times, however, has extensive advantage been taken of these resources.

A local resident who moved to the community 36 years ago, says that between the village and nearby towns "there was *só mata* (only forest)." Although this is probably an overstatement, since it is known that there has been considerable planting in the community since settlers first located there sometime in the latter part of the sixteenth century, or the beginning of the seventeenth, the remark emphasizes the considerable cutting of timber which has occurred in comparatively recent years.

The exportation of charcoal for use in São Paulo and other cities is said to have begun about 1928. The exportation of firewood for use as fuel in the wood-burning engines of the railroad and in the factories of São Paulo and other cities is said to have begun about 1932. During World War II, the cutting of timber for these purposes extensively increased. Most deliveries were made in São José dos Patos, the nearest point on the railroad.

Firewood that is exported for use on the railroad and in factories is cut into lengths of approximately 2½ feet for ready handling. The gathering of firewood for home consumption is referred to elsewhere (see Fuel and Light, p. 47), as also is the preparation of charcoal (see Making of Charcoal, p. 90) and of lumber (see Lumber, p. 91).

As has been indicated, a few *paineiras*, or kapok trees, grow in the area. The pods are picked in September or October; when dry, they are broken open and the floss is separated from the seeds and thoroughly dried. It is used principally to stuff

<sup>18</sup> See *Pinga*, Tobacco, and Café, p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Known in northern Brazil as *tanafura*.

<sup>20</sup> See Food and Food Habits, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Local manner of saying *salmoura*: brine.

<sup>22</sup> A sieve made of *taquara*.

<sup>23</sup> A large shallow clay or metal vessel. See Pottery, p. 85.



pillows. The surplus is sold in São Paulo. The present price is reported to be 60 cruzeiros a kilogram or about US\$1.50 per pound.

The use of small poles for building purposes, of *cipó* for binding, of *cravorena* and *bucha da terra* in making rockets, of numerous plants for magical and medicinal purposes, of *taguara* for baskets, sieves, winnowing trays, fish traps, pipe stems, and *arapucas*, and of *tucum* fiber for weaving lines and nets, is referred to elsewhere.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR QUARRYING

A quarry is being opened up, at the initiative of outside capital, about 4 miles from the village. Soundings have indicated the existence of an extensive source of lime and cement, reportedly of excellent quality, much of it at or near the surface. Several men in the community are employed getting the quarry ready for operation and building a road through the hills to the rail line 11 miles away.

The expectation is that construction of a factory for crushing rock will shortly begin and that eventually several score of men will be employed. The development of this quarry and the probable migration to the area of a considerable number of workmen and their families will set in operation forces which increasingly will modify the ecological, economic, and sociological aspects of the community. The resulting changes might well be accompanied and reported upon.

#### FOOD AND FOOD HABITS

The staple foods of the community are beans, rice, and maize. Beans are universally used. There is no family which does not have them daily and usually at each principal meal of the day. Eight kinds of beans, known locally as the *mulatinho*, *preto*, *branco*, *rozinho*, *chumbinho*, *mourinho*, *leite*, and *carioca*,<sup>18</sup> are grown in the community. Although many persons like "any kind," the *branco* is most used. Each of the other kinds is preferred by a few individuals.

The use of rice is also quite common. "For me," said a farm woman, "if there's no rice, there's

no meal. My husband and the children also like it very much. I cook it every day." Beans and rice are the principal food of all families in the community and, for some families, almost the only food for days at a time. Maize flour and maize meal (*fubá*) are also common items of food.

The use for food of game animals, fish and birds, available in the area, as well as *icá*, has been referred to.<sup>19</sup> The contribution of this source of food to the total diet, however, is progressively less and less as the *mata* is cleared away. The severe epidemic of cholera which a few years ago destroyed most of the hogs in the region, reduced still further an already limited meat diet. Chickens and a few other fowls are raised but in relatively small numbers (see Domestic Animals). "It's too expensive to eat them," said a farm wife. "We have to sell them instead." Eggs are used "when the hens are laying." Goat meat is sometimes eaten, mutton almost never. Codfish is occasionally purchased at a village store.

Two head of cattle used to be killed in the village each week, one on Tuesday and the other on Friday. At present, a single beef is slaughtered each week, on Friday afternoon. An animal is purchased in the community by one of the two men in the village who do the slaughtering and driven in with the help of the butchers' dogs to a spot near the village where it is caught and tied to the stump of a tree. The subsequent event then ordinarily takes on something of a ceremonial character, in which a considerable number of villagers—men, women, and children—participate, in addition to the butchers and almost all the dogs in the village. As the animal is tied up, one notes on the faces of the persons who are standing around, and in the restlessness of the dogs as they pace back and forth, a rather general attitude of expectancy. One after the other, the persons present make known their wants. "Keep the heart for me," one of them will call out. "I want part of the liver," shouts another, almost at the same time. "Give me a good piece to stew," calls out a third. Meanwhile, one of the butchers has taken up a long, sharp-pointed knife and cautiously approached the animal. When near enough, and at an opportune moment, he plunges it into the left breast once, twice, or three times, until he reaches and punctures the heart. As the blood begins to spurt out,

<sup>18</sup> Respectively, little mulatto, black, white, little purple one, little lead one, little Moor, and milk. The *leite* is also called *catarinense* "because it came from Santa Catarina" (a Brazilian State), said a villager. *Carioca* is a popular term used to refer to the inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro and surrounding portion of the Federal District.

<sup>19</sup> See Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping, p. 32, and *Idé*, p. 25.



the hungry dogs precipitate themselves upon the stream and each other and snarl and fight among themselves. A man standing nearby remarks, "Some things have to die so that others can live."

There is no refrigeration in the village. Rarely is a piece of beef left by the time the butchers close up that evening. When someone on a farm in the community butchers a hog or a goat, the meat is usually sold to neighbors and villagers and cooked the same day.

Chickens are usually killed by pulling the neck until broken. "It's so much easier than cutting the throat," said a farm woman, "and besides you save the blood." Goats and sheep, however, are slain by slitting the throat, as also are ducks, geese, and turkeys. Hogs, like cattle, are killed by sticking a knife into the heart.

Cows' milk is little used, even by those few families who sell milk to the cities. "The children just don't care for it," said a farm woman. "If the children liked milk," said a village mother, "we'd buy it; but they don't miss it at all." Goats' milk may be used if the family is fortunate enough to own a goat. Butter is rarely made on the farms or used in the community. Due to the epidemic referred to above, lard is scarce and families complain of its high cost.

The use of vegetables is limited. Sweetpotatoes and white potatoes are used when available, as also are lettuce, cabbage, tomatoes, and *zuzu*.<sup>18</sup> *Couve*, a plant related to cabbage, is rather generally liked. Maize, in season, is sometimes eaten on the cob. Onions are used only for seasoning. Some families use the root of the *caraguatá*, boiled and mixed with maize meal and beans and, for "greens," the sowthistle and chicory, all of which grow wild in the area. *Palmito*, or the central portion of the cabbage palm, is also sometimes to be found, and it is much liked.

The principal seasoning used for meat and vegetables is salt. Sometimes also used are black pepper, vinegar, onions, tomato extract, garlic, and marjoram; and, on special occasions, like those when a suckling pig is being prepared for a wedding dinner, wine and bay leaf.

Brazil imports from either the United States or Argentina most of the wheat consumed in the country. In recent years, due to war and post-war conditions, shortages of wheat flour have occurred

periodically. Wheat bread is much liked in the community and is used when possible to buy. It is not baked in either farm or village homes. Sometimes, if wheat flour is available for purchase in the village, a mother will make *bolinhos* by frying dough in fat, or bake a *bolo*, or loaf cake, on top of the stove, in a pan, upon the lid of which hot coals have been placed. If the hens are laying, eggs may be added to the *bolo*; more rarely, milk may be substituted for water. Maize bread is unknown, although occasionally a housewife makes a *bolo de fubá*, or a cake made with maize meal instead of wheat flour. Bicarbonate of soda or baking powder is used for leavening. Sweet manioc is occasionally used. It is either boiled in water in which sugar has been sprinkled, or boiled in salted water and fried in fat.

*Doces*, or any form of "sweets," are much liked and are prepared as often as can be afforded which, however, is only occasionally. Among the *doces* prepared at times in the community are rice pudding; squash, orange, and lemon preserves; *pé de moleque*, or peanut brittle; *fios de ovos*, *doce de pão*, *doce de leite*, and *cocada*.

To make *fios de ovos*, or literally "egg threads," the yolks of a dozen eggs are separated from the whites and beaten lightly with a fork. Meanwhile, sugar and water are boiled together into a thick sirup. A small hole is then made in the end of an egg shell and the latter is filled with the beaten yolk and passed rapidly around over the pan of sirup so that the yolk drains out in thin "threads" (*fios*). After these have cooked a few minutes, they are lifted out of the sirup onto a plate and wound into the form of a small bird's nest. A few pieces of cinnamon bark or whole cloves are sometimes dropped into the sirup.

To make *doce de pão*, dry bread is first cut into thick slices. The latter are then dipped, one by one, into milk and, after being laid briefly on a board for the purpose of pressing out the excess milk, are also dipped into beaten egg. They are then dropped into a pan of boiling sirup and left a few minutes until the egg is cooked.

*Doce de leite* is made by boiling milk and sugar together until thick and dropping the mixture, a spoonful at a time, onto a wet board where it is left to cool. *Cocada* is made by cooking freshly grated coconut in sugar and water until the sirup thickens, when the mixture similarly is dropped,

<sup>18</sup> *Saccharum edule*.



spoonful by spoonful, onto a wet board and left to cool. In all cases, preparation is "by rule of thumb."

Bananas are the most common fruit used by the families of the community. Oranges are eaten in season. A few other fruits, including papaya, mangoes, pears, and pineapples, are used in relatively small quantities (see Gardens and Orchards, p. 68). The use of wild fruits has been referred to elsewhere (see Wild Fruits, p. 34). Home canning is unknown.

The local diet, therefore, is reasonably adequate in protein and carbohydrates. It is somewhat lacking, however, in fats and quite inadequate in minerals and vitamins.

Among the favorite foods referred to by individuals in the community are bean broth, bean *virado*,<sup>19</sup> suckling pig, chicken, rice, *paca*,<sup>20</sup> and beef. Roast suckling pig or roast chicken is considered a special delicacy. "There will be roast suckling pig (or roast chicken) today in So-and-so's house" is almost the same as saying, "In So-and-so's house, there will be a *feita* today." For those who can afford them, either one or the other is indispensable for a wedding dinner.

*Passoca* is a dish made of toasted maize flour and ground peanuts, which is much liked by the local inhabitants. The maize flour and the peanuts are first toasted separately. The skins are then stripped from the peanuts and they are put, together with the maize flour, into the *pilão*<sup>21</sup> and crushed. When the two ingredients are well mixed, sugar is added and the mass taken out and sifted through a *peneira*. The *passoca* is then eaten with *café*, a spoonful of *passoca* alternating with a sip of *café*, or is taken with bananas.

At a wedding dinner given for his daughter by the man in the village who has the largest regular income, the following food was served:

- Roast suckling pig (two whole pigs, one of which had been boned and stuffed with *farofa*\*)
- Torta*\*\* of chicken and peas
- Rice, with giblet gravy
- Beans *frita*\*\*\*
- Macaroni, with giblet gravy
- Lettuce, tomato, and *palmito* salad

<sup>19</sup> Left over boiled beans recooked with corn or manioc meal and lard and seasoned with onions. Sometimes pieces of hard-boiled eggs are mixed in.

<sup>20</sup> See Wildlife, p. 18.

\* A wooden mortar. See Dwellings and Furnishings, p. 45.

For dessert, there were cornstarch and gelatin puddings, and *bom-bocados*.<sup>22</sup> *Guaraná*<sup>23</sup> and *pinga* (see p. 39) were served to drink.

A man in the village who is famed for his skill in cooking occasionally furnished meals for members of the research staff engaged on this study. On two week ends, these meals consisted of the following foods:

Dinner (Thursday)	Lunch (Friday)
Beans	Beans
Rice	Rice
Maize meal	Maize meal
Smoked <i>bagre</i> stew	<i>Capicara</i> (smoked and roasted)
Stewed chicken	Smoked <i>bagre</i> stew
<i>Café</i> <sup>24</sup>	Tomato and onion salad
	<i>Café</i>
Dinner (Friday)	Lunch (Saturday)
Macaroni soup with giblets	Beans
Beans	Rice
Rice	Maize meal
Maize meal	Beef and potato stew
Lettuce salad	Lettuce salad
<i>Café</i>	<i>Café</i>
Dinner (Saturday)	Lunch (Sunday)
Macaroni soup with beef	Beans
Beans	Rice
Rice	Maize meal
Maize meal	<i>Bifes</i>
<i>Bifes</i> <sup>25</sup>	Fried eggs
<i>Café</i>	Tomato salad
	<i>Café</i>
Dinner (Friday)	Lunch (Saturday)
Beans	Beans
Rice	Rice
Manioc meal	Manioc meal
Stewed chicken with potatoes	Fried eggs
Lettuce salad	Salad of raw cabbage and hard-boiled eggs
Bread	<i>almôndegas</i> <sup>26</sup>
Wine	Bread
<i>Café</i>	<i>Café</i>

<sup>22</sup> *Farofa* is toasted maize or manioc meal stirred into melted fat. In this case, the meal was of manioc; there had also been added olives, peas, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces, and the whole seasoned with salt, pepper, onions, garlic, and parsley.

<sup>23</sup> A pastry, similar to pie.

<sup>24</sup> Beans cooked with maize meal and seasoned with salt, onions, garlic, and cracklings.

<sup>25</sup> Literally, good mouthfuls; coconut cookies.

<sup>26</sup> A soft drink made from carbonated water and the seeds of the *guaraná* (*sarapa, sarana*), a native plant (*Paullinia cupana*).

<sup>27</sup> Black coffee made somewhat differently from that in the United States. See *Pinga, Tabaco, and Café*, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> This term is applied in Brazil to several different cuts of beef fried like steak.

<sup>29</sup> Meat balls made of beef and bacon.



*Dinner (Saturday)*

Canja<sup>20</sup> with potatoes and  
cabbage  
Lettuce salad  
Bread  
Café

*Lunch (Sunday)*

Beans  
Rice  
Maize meal  
Roast pork  
Roast ribs of goat  
Raw-cabbage salad  
Bread  
Café

*Dinner (Sunday)*

Beans  
Rice  
Maize meal  
Roast leg of goat  
Roast pork with green-onion  
sauce  
Café

These meals represent what would be considered in the community tasty and substantial fare for special guests. The variety is much greater than would be common among either village or farm families. Beans and rice, as has been noted, are constant items in the local diet. During the period in question, bread was difficult to obtain, wheat flour being at times entirely absent from the market. Chicken was the principal meat available. Beef was to be had only on Friday evening, following the weekly butchering. Pork or goat was rarely obtainable. The vegetable salads were a concession to the food tastes of guests and are much less common in the community than these menus would indicate.

The time of meals is regulated more by the stomach than by the clock. *Café*, or the first meal of the day, is taken immediately upon arising. Some families take nothing but coffee at this time. Other families may also have bread, if available, or *bolo de fubá*; if they are farm families, they may also take something more substantial, such as bean *virado*, manioc, or sweet-potatoes. *Almogo* is the first substantial meal of the day. It is eaten sometime during the morning, often while at work in the fields. The hour varies from family to family and from day to day and often from person to person within the same family. This meal is usually taken, however, sometime between 9 and 11 o'clock, depending upon the time needed to prepare the food and to carry it to the field or upon the degree of hunger of the children and other members of the family.

If the man comes in from the field for *almogo*, he will probably appear, as a farm woman put it, "quando bate a fome" (when hunger strikes). The children are fed whenever the food is ready, or a child indicates he is especially hungry. All the children may or may not eat at the same time. Most families have afternoon *café* sometime between 12 and 2 o'clock. Again, they may have only coffee; or they may also take bread, *bolo de fubá*, or similar food and, occasionally, eggs with *farofa*. *Jantar*, or the evening meal, will be eaten when the man comes in from the field or the family's hunger dictates, which may be any time from 4:30 to 6:30 p. m. This is the second substantial meal of the day and ordinarily consists of more of the same food which the family had for *almogo*.

On 4 of 17 farms visited, the family usually sits at a table in the kitchen or dining room when taking meals, as similarly does a fifth family at times when the dining room is not being used to store onions or other produce. On another farm, the father and the older sons sit at a table in the dining room, but there is no table in the kitchen for the mother, girls, and younger children who always take their meals there. On the remaining 11 farms, the families are not accustomed to sit at a table for a meal. Instead, each person takes a plate of food and either stands, leans or sits in any convenient place about the kitchen or other room. On four of these farms, there is no table in the kitchen or any other part of the house. On another farm, there are two tables in the kitchen, but both are used to hold pots, pans, and other kitchen utensils instead of for eating purposes. When the family uses a table, in most cases, both on the farms and in the village, the mother and smaller children do not sit with the father and the older sons. Utensils used in eating are referred to elsewhere (see *Dwellings and Furnishings*, p. 46).

## PINGA, TOBACCO, AND CAFÉ

*Pinga* is an alcoholic drink made by fermenting the juice of the sugarcane.<sup>21</sup> The erudite term is *aguardente*, but this word is seldom, if ever, used in the community. *Pinga* is the principal beverage of the local inhabitants. Beer and a few other drinks, especially wine and cognac, are also used, but to a much lesser extent.

<sup>20</sup> Chicken soup with whole pieces of chicken and rice.

<sup>21</sup> See *Distillation of Pinga*, p. 89.



The use of *pinga* is almost universal among the men. A villager well acquainted in the community knows only two men who do not use it. "*Pinga's* my drink," remarked a villager. "Not this sweet stuff. Only *pinga*. Drink until one keels over, until one wants to fight, not that! But taken as it should be taken, *pinga* is the best drink in the world."

Women also drink, but only occasionally and never in public. "You may be sure," said a villager who sells *pinga*, "that a woman who drinks in the sight of others is a prostitute." No woman is a habitual drunkard, although local residents tell of a wife who, worried over her husband's behavior with another woman, "drank herself to death" some years ago. Only an occasional man objects to his wife drinking moderately. Children are given *pinga* at an early age. "When they ask for it," a parent will say, "we give them a few drops."

*Pinga* is sold at the village stores, the bakery, and two *botequins*,<sup>22</sup> either in bottles for taking home or in small "drinks" for consumption on the premises. The *botequins* handle nothing but liquor and soft drinks. Both are open daily. To the larger one, the term "bar," imported from the cities, is now being applied. In it, there are three small tables where customers may be seated while they play cards, and drink. There are six chairs. Regularly kept in stock are the following drinks:

<i>Pinga</i>	Anisette
<i>Pinga</i> , with mint	Bitters
White beer	Liqueur of cocoa
Black beer	<i>Agua tonica</i> (carbonated water with quinine)
Grape wine	<i>Guarana</i>
Pineapple wine	<i>Refrescos</i> (apple, tangerine, pineapple) <sup>23</sup>
<i>Quinado</i> (wine with quinine)	Lemon soda
Vermouth	

Large quantities of *pinga* are consumed in the community. The owners of the three stores estimate that they sell each month, respectively, 200, 150, and 120 liters; the owners of the *botequins*, 150 and 60 liters; the owner of the bakery, 100 liters. This represents a total of approximately 180 gallons per month for a population of a little over 2700 persons. Although these estimates may be somewhat exaggerated, they are consid-

erably below another estimate, made by a village official and confirmed by other persons at that time present. It is at least certain that rather large quantities of *pinga* are regularly consumed in the community.

Consumption is heaviest on week ends, approximately as much *pinga* being sold on Saturday and Sunday as during the remainder of the week. It is also heavy on rainy days, when many farmers come to the village to pass the hours with their friends. "If you can't drink a drop or two in the village," one hears it said on a rainy day, "what are you going to do?" During "the time of the rains," consumption is always heavier than during "the time of the drought."

Drinking is almost entirely a social act. Only two men in the community are known to drink alone and this behavior is frowned upon. There is considerable "treating" of friends and acquaintances in an established, ceremonial manner.<sup>24</sup> To become drunk and noisy or quarrelsome, however, is severely condemned. To spend on drink for oneself or others money which is especially needed for other purposes is also censured, even by the owners of stores and *botequins*. There is only one habitual drunkard in the community. Three other men drink rather heavily. One of the latter, however, is commended by local inhabitants when he periodically "goes a year without drinking at all."

A favorite drink at *festas*, especially that of São João, is *quentão*. It is made by adding about half as much water to a quantity of *pinga* and boiling with a little ginger and cinnamon. It is served hot from the fire. A favorite drink at weddings is *pau a pique*, sometimes also called *temperada*. The principal ingredient also is *pinga*, flavored and colored with a bit of aniline, clove, cinnamon, anise, currant, or *capilé*<sup>25</sup> sirup, to which is also added a sirup made of sugar and water, hot from the fire.

The use of tobacco is almost universal among the men and quite common among the women. The preferred form is the cigarette, usually prepared as needed from shavings whittled with a pocket knife from a twist of tobacco. Corn husks are used for papers. Several men smoke pipes, as also do almost all the older women, especially on

<sup>22</sup> Since this was written, another small *botequin* has been opened in the village.

<sup>23</sup> Soft drinks.

<sup>24</sup> See Etiquette, p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> (*Adiantum* sp.).



the farms. The men's pipes are usually of wood and are factory-made. The women's pipes ordinarily have a small clay bowl about three-quarters of an inch high, which is factory-made, and a thick stem of *taquara pininga*, cut from a nearby patch of timber (fig. 4). The term *pito* is universally applied to the latter pipe, and has also been generalized to refer to all pipes, instead of *cachimbo*, a term used elsewhere in Brazil. The chewing of tobacco is less common, being occasionally indulged in, principally, by a few older women. Only one person in the community takes snuff.

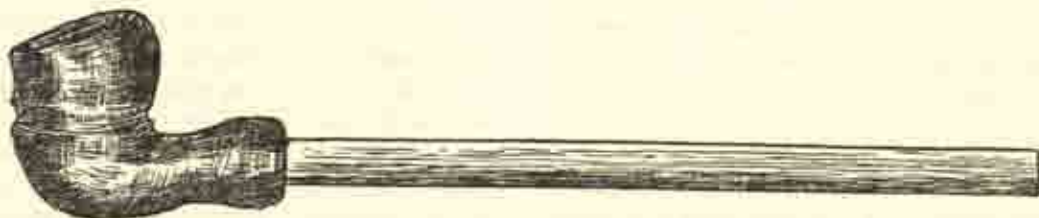


FIGURE 4.—*Pito*, or pipe for tobacco, used principally by the older women (natural size). Bowl is of clay, stem of *taquara*.

Many children learn to smoke cigarettes before they are adolescents and some at a still earlier age. On a farm which was visited, for instance, a 4-year-old girl and her 3-year-old brother and 2-year-old sister were all smoking *cigarros de palha* (corn-husk cigarettes). Each held the cigarette much as an adult would hold it and, from time to time, as he listened to the older persons talk, took the cigarette out of his mouth and spat to one side or the other on the earthen floor. "João's godfather," said a mother on another farm, of her 3-year-old son, "taught him to smoke. When he moved away, João kept begging, 'I want to smoke and I haven't got any cigarettes.' So I now give him one a day."

Coffee is a favorite and universal drink. It is prepared in Brazil by roasting the bean, with sugar, and grinding it to a fine powder. As needed, boiling water is poured over several tablespoonfuls and the liquid strained through a cloth and sweetened further with granulated sugar, *rapa-dura*<sup>66</sup> or, occasionally, *garapa*.<sup>67</sup> This *café*, ranging in color from light brown to black, is ordinarily taken without milk. Cream is never used. The amount consumed by each individual is impressive.

A person early becomes habituated to its use and throughout life drinks it in considerable quantities. It is taken early in the morning and at the two principal meals of the day and just before going to bed. In addition, smaller amounts may be taken at other times during the day, whenever a person becomes thirsty. *Café* always accompanies the husband's *almoço* sent to the field, usually in a *pinga* bottle which holds about a quart, with a corn-husk stopper. The average amount consumed daily is probably about 1 quart per person, including children. A farm mother,

for instance, prepares each day more than 4 quarts for her husband, herself, and two children, aged respectively 3 years and 17 months. A woman in the village prepares *café* three times a day, early in the morning, around 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and at night before going to bed. Each time she makes about 2 quarts for her husband, herself, and five children. These cases are typical.

Children begin to use *café* quite early in life. A young mother remarked, for instance, "My little girl (3 years old) takes *café* in the morning and at *almoço*, and by 2 o'clock she's asking for it again. Then she has it at supper and again just before going to bed. She doesn't care for it in a cup; she wants it in a bottle." With this remark, the mother filled a bottle with *café* and, adjusting a nipple, gave it to the child. Of a younger daughter, 15 months old, the mother then remarked, "Inês nurses. So she doesn't take as much *café* as her sister. Only a cupful in the morning and another in the afternoon."<sup>68</sup> A village mother of six children, aged 6 months to 11 years, remarked, "I always have *café* ready so that any hour the children want it, they can go there and help themselves." These cases also are typical.

<sup>66</sup> Crude brown sugar. See *Sugar Making*, p. 87.

<sup>67</sup> The juice of freshly-crushed sugarcane.

<sup>68</sup> The cup is a large-size teacup.



Some families roast their own coffee, using beans which they either have grown themselves or bought in a local store. The roasting is done "by rule of thumb." "You have to have considerable experience," remarked a village woman, "to know just when the *forno* (a brick oven) is hot enough to put the beans in to roast. But I have done it for so long, it comes easy to me. When the beans are almost roasted, I sprinkle sugar over them and stir them until the sugar is well burnt. I can tell by the color of the smoke when it is time to take them out of the oven. I then put them in the *pilão*<sup>200</sup> and crush them into a fine powder. It's hard work! See the calluses on my hands! But we like the taste of home-roasted coffee much better than that bought at the store."

#### DWELLINGS AND FURNISHINGS

Reference has already been made to the oldest house in the community. It was erected in 1688, as can be seen from the date carved in the lintel of the front door. The inscription is in Latin and reads:

July 14, Maria, Jesus the Savior of Men, Joseph, 1688

Another inscription, carved in the lintel of a door inside the house, reads:

Remember, man, that thou art dust!

The house is of one story. Heavy, well-preserved beams of *peroba* support the tile roof. The walls are of *taipa*, or earth tamped down firm and solid. They are 18 to 20 inches thick and calcimined inside and out. The once earthen floors are now covered with brick. Slabs of rock were laid down a few years ago to use as steps to the front door, in place of the original earth which had worn down beneath the level of the entrance. The labor of slaves, probably of both Indian and African origin, went into the building of this house. It is still occupied and recently underwent routine repair.

The oldest house in the village was built "over a hundred years ago." Seven other houses are from a half century to a century old. All the houses in the village and on the farms are of one story, with the exception of one house in the village and a house on one of the farms. That in the village is of two stories, the lower of which is unused, except for an occasional dance.

The farmhouse is known throughout the community as the *casa grande* (great house). It measures 114 feet long by 42 feet wide and is approximately 33 feet from the ground to the ridge pole (pl. 6, d). The outer walls are of *taipa*, 2 feet thick and very firm. A little over a third of the building is constructed on two levels. The floors of the lower level are of earth and those of the upper level are of wide boards. A family of father, mother, and five children and a hired hand at present occupy the upper level, and the lower portion is given over to stables for milking cows and sheltering calves and other cattle. The rest of the building is open from the floor to the roof. Five heavy *peroba* beams, each 10 by 12 inches and weighing several hundred pounds, cross the space overhead, midway to the roof. Two large doors which used to be about 13 feet high and 5 feet wide have been reduced somewhat in size by bricking up a part of the opening. This portion of the house at present shelters equipment for making *pinga*.<sup>201</sup>

Twenty-eight houses in the village, in groups of not over five each, are joined side to side so that they present a continuous front to the street (pl. 6, e), as is common to Brazilian villages and towns whose origin dates from the colonial period. Forty-five of the 73 houses, however, are separate and do not touch one another in any way. One house has a small veranda, about 4 by 6 feet.<sup>202</sup>

With respect to the materials used in construction, houses in both the village and on the farms are of two kinds: *pau a pique* and brick. In the village, 28 of the 73 houses are *pau a pique* and, on the farms visited, 19 out of 26 houses.

A *pau a pique* house is built of puddled earth spread over a framework of sticks. Four strong poles are set vertically in the ground to form the corners of the building and four other poles are laid horizontally to connect them. *Cipó*, or more frequently in recent years nails, are used to fasten the poles together. Longer uprights are then set in the ground at the center of each of two sides and a ridge pole is laid upon them. Parallel to the uprights, smaller poles are placed until the sides are entirely filled in, the poles not being set in the ground but merely supported by it. At

<sup>200</sup> See Distillation of Pinga, p. 89.

<sup>201</sup> Of the 73 houses, 41 are owned by their present occupants and 32 are rented. Rentals range from 10 to 200 cruzeiros per month, with an average of 45 cruzeiros.

<sup>202</sup> See p. 45.



right angles to these smaller poles, long, narrow sticks are tied on at short intervals with *cipó*, both on the inside and outside (pl. 6, f). At the points where a door or window is to appear, poles and sticks are interrupted to leave the necessary open spaces. From the ridge, poles are then suspended as rafters and other smaller poles are laid over these at right angles and the whole covered over with either a thatch of *sapé* or tile. *Sapé* (*Imperata brasiliensis*) is a coarse grass extensively used in Brazil for this purpose. A shallow excavation is then dug in the ground near the structure, and earth and water are mixed in it to form a thick mud which is then slapped over the framework inside and out, and left to dry.

The walls of most houses of brick and a few of those of *pau a pique* are covered over with *reboque*, a plaster made of lime, earth, and water. Some are then calcimined on the outside in light yellow or white, especially at the front. If this is not done, the dried mud of a *pau a pique* house gradually wears or breaks off so that after a few years the house is in considerable disrepair.

As indicated, there are two kinds of roofs: those of tile and those of *sapé*. All of the roofs in the village are of tile. Of 25 farmhouses visited, 21 were of tile and 5 of *sapé*.

In the older houses, doors are of heavy wood, usually *peroba* or *cabreuva*.<sup>102</sup> In the more recently built houses, however, due to the increasing difficulty of obtaining *peroba* and other hardwoods as the forest is cut away, *cedro*, *canela*, and even pine shipped in from other areas of Brazil, are used instead. Doors always open inward. They are fastened shut with a wooden bar, dropped into iron cleats set in the jamb. Most of the front doors are also equipped with a latch and a lock.

In all the houses on the farms visited and in all but a few of the houses in the village, windows are merely openings in the wall. At night or on rainy days, a shutter of unpainted boards which opens inward, is swung shut and fastened on the inside with either a wooden catch which pivots on a nail driven into the jamb, or a wooden bar passed through iron cleats set in the frame. No house observed on farms and only about a dozen houses in the village have glass in one or more windows. Approximately half the floors in the farmhouses

and about a fourth of those in the village are of earth and sometimes are quite uneven. The other houses have either wooden or brick floors, with the exception of an occasional floor made of cement. The kitchens in all but a few houses, and often the other rooms, especially in *pau a pique* houses, are without ceilings and open to the roof.

Most houses have been built by their present or former occupants, in some cases with the assistance of a local carpenter, especially with the windows and doors. A farmer and his three sons, for instance, assisted by a neighbor, are at present building a *pau a pique* house (pl. 6, f, g). "I put this house up 6 years ago," said another farmer. "I could not afford to have it built for me." "My husband is very handy with tools," explained his wife, "and he did all the work."

The walls inside many houses are bare, except for old calendars, or prints of up to 20 *santos*, or family photographs with perhaps as many as eight in a single frame, or an *oratório* in which the household *santos* are kept. In several homes, there also hang on the walls objects like oxhorns, saddles, animal skins, or the skull of a sheep.

In a few homes, especially in the village, one sees an occasional embroidered cloth or vase of flowers on a table, a crocheted doily on a cupboard, or a potted plant on a box in the corner of the room. These individual attempts at decoration, however, may not be supported by community standards. A farm woman, for instance, who apparently had considerable desire to improve the appearance of her home, remarked, "If I put a clean cloth and a vase of flowers on the table, someone who passes by will make fun of me and say, '*Casa de tapera, cheia de luxo*,' (an old dilapidated house, full of luxury). That way, you soon get discouraged."

The furniture is usually scanty and either home-made or of cheap factory manufacture. Occasionally one finds that members of the family have built such articles as rough-hewn benches; crude tables, made of boards or boxes and smoothed with sandpaper; cupboards, with shelves for kitchen utensils, and crude *oratórios*, both made from boxes; wooden supports for lamps or for bags used to strain coffee; and taborets, with broom handles for supports.

Most of the beds are of factory manufacture and include single, double and "three-quarter" beds.

<sup>102</sup> *Myrcarpus foaligatus*.





FIGURE 5.—*Poid*, or local stove used for cooking. The space underneath sometimes is filled in to the floor.

All of those observed were of wood. A crib for the baby occasionally may be seen, made of *taguara* (pl. 20, *d*), as well as an improvised bed, known as the *girau*. The latter is made by driving a pair of forked sticks into the ground about 4 feet apart and a second pair about 6 feet away. Two strong poles are then fitted to the stakes and other smaller poles or strips of rawhide laid crosswise. The same term is also applied to a similar construction occasionally to be seen at the rear or side of a

house, on which clothes are spread for bleaching and drying.<sup>109</sup>

Most of the houses in the village and a few on the farms are equipped with factory-made chairs. These are all of plain, straight-back construction,

<sup>109</sup> In addition, the term is also applied to the wooden support on which a log is laid to be sawn by two men, one of whom stands on the ground and the other on a platform. The term used to be applied to a wooden platform placed in a tree on which a hunter, after tying a kid or other lure underneath, awaited an *ouga*.



with the exception of a rare rocking chair, only one of the latter having been observed in the village. Perhaps half the houses have a factory-made table and a factory-made cupboard in which to keep food and dishes. Several families in the village and a few on the farms possess a wardrobe in which to keep their clothes; other families use for this purpose a box, trunk, or suit case.

The stove is invariably a *poia*.<sup>104</sup> It is made by driving large stakes into the dirt floor of the kitchen and building over them a wooden platform about 5 feet long and 2½ feet wide (fig. 5).<sup>104a</sup> If available, strips of tin may then be laid on top of this platform. A layer of brick is added and cemented into position with a mixture of earth, ashes, and water. Two rows of bricks, three to four bricks high, are laid along the far end and also along the sides from the back two-thirds of the way toward the front, to form the walls of a firebox about a foot wide and open at the front end. The near third of the platform is left uncovered to support sticks of wood which are periodically pushed further and further into the fire as the ends burn away. On top of the firebox is cemented into place an iron covering with two or three openings on which to set pots and other cooking utensils. Over the whole construction is then spread a layer of cement, made of the mixture referred to above or of clay from an "anthill" or, occasionally, of cow excrement, ashes, and water. Since a chimney is not always added, and often functions inefficiently even if added, the walls and roof of the kitchen are usually soon stained with soot.

Seven houses in the village and an occasional farmhouse have a cement tank, as has been indicated, for washing clothes. A few villagers and farmers have a brick oven at the back or side of the house (pl. 8). Thirteen families in the village and 8 of 17 families visited on farms have sewing machines of standard makes. The iron used for ironing clothes is heated by filling an interior cavity with burning charcoal (fig. 6). Light is ordinarily furnished by a kerosene lamp or lantern or a *lamparina*, made of a small bottle, or tin receptacle, into which kerosene and a wick have been put. Gasoline tins are used to carry water.

Wooden pegs, iron hooks, and nails are sometimes employed for hanging articles.



FIGURE 6.—Charcoal-burning iron.

At many houses, there is a *pilão*, or wooden mortar, used to crush foodstuffs (fig. 7). It has been made of a log of durable wood and usually stands



FIGURE 7.—*Pilão*, or wooden mortar, with pestle.

about 2½ feet high and has a cavity around 16 inches deep and 14 inches in diameter. The pestle is a heavy stick about 3½ feet long, operated by hand. The *pilão* is now used much less than formerly.

<sup>104</sup> This term sometimes is used, in other communities, to refer only to the platform upon which the wood is laid to be burnt.

<sup>104a</sup> In some cases, the *poia* is built directly upon the floor, without stakes under it.



The most common utensil used at meal time are the cup, soup spoon, and soup plate. In many farm and village homes, the soup spoon is the only utensil of its kind used and, sometimes, the only one owned. Several families have at least one or two table knives. Few families, however, have forks, except perhaps an old one employed in cooking. Any kind of food may be eaten from a soup plate. The cup used for drinking may be of enamel or, quite often, it may have been made from a tin can which originally contained some article purchased at a village store. Most families also have, for use in serving the *cafézinho*<sup>108</sup> to guests on the more formal occasions, two or three inexpensive china teacups, sometimes chipped and often without saucers, and a small, well-worn tray of cheap alloy. A few families possess, for use on these occasions, a more expensive set of teacups or demitasse cups and saucers and perhaps a brightly colored coffeepot, of all of which great care is taken.

An occasional family in the village or on a farm is more adequately supplied with table accessories than everyday use would indicate. In the village home which is probably most adequately furnished in this respect, there is a set of inexpensive silver-plated tableware, including knives, forks, tablespoons, and dessertspoons; and inexpensive china-ware, including dinner, dessert, and soup plates, a platter, a few serving dishes, a set of cups and saucers, and inexpensive glasses. A kitchen knife is used to cut meats at the table.

On 17 farms visited the tableware and kitchen utensils being used, in what is probably the most adequately equipped home, were as follows:

2 enamel plates	1 aluminum pan
8 china plates	3 enamel kettles
5 soup plates	1 aluminum teakettle
1 cake plate	1 aluminum coffeepot
5 knives, 6 forks	1 enamel coffeepot
8 tablespoons	2 bowls
4 coffeespoons	1 meat grinder
2 sets of china teacups and saucers	1 dishpan (made of tin cans cut and soldered together)
1 chrome tea and coffee set (coffeepot, teapot, milk pitcher, sugar bowl, tray)	1 potato ricer
1 cast-iron skillet	1 aluminum ladle
2 cast-iron pans	2 kitchen knives
	1 wire strainer
	2 cups, made of tin cans

1 sieve, made of <i>taquara</i>	1 cutting board
1 wooden frame to support a bag for straining coffee	1 <i>pilão</i>
1 basket, made of <i>taquara</i>	Several bottles
	A few tin cans of various sizes

The tableware and kitchen utensils in the home which is probably least adequately supplied were:

3 enamel plates	1 aluminum pan (much dented)
3 bowls	1 sieve, made of <i>taquara</i>
2 glasses	1 small basket
5 tin cups, made of cans	1 <i>pilão</i>
1 china teapot	Several bottles
1 china cup	A few tin cans of various sizes, some with lids
4 cast-iron pans	

In addition to the above-mentioned items, other farm families occasionally also possess:

Enamel cups	Wooden kegs (for water)
Wooden bowls	Tin basins
Clay waterpots	Enamel basins

With the exception of baskets, the *pilão*, and sieves, few utensils are home-made. On one farm, for instance, the only items which had been made by members of the family were two cups, prepared by nailing tin handles on tin cans. On another farm, the only item of this sort was a simple grater, made by opening out the tin from a tin can, perforating it with a nail, and attaching it to a wooden support. On a third farm, the oldest daughter had made three cups by fastening wire handles to tin cans, and the father had carved out of *cedro* a wash basin, with handles (pl. 20, f). On still another farm, the father had carved a *gamela*, or large, shallow bowl from wood, and made a simple lamp, by putting a wick into a *pinga* bottle.

The most adequately equipped house in the village is that of one of the storekeepers whose wife is from a town about 30 miles away and is accustomed to a standard of living somewhat above that common to the local community. Although the house is old, it was remodeled 2 years ago, at which time it was also freshly calcimined inside and out. The house measures about 30 by 24 feet and is 9 feet to the eaves. The walls are of brick and the roof of tile. Most of the windows are of glass and have wooden shutters. There is a dining room, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a bedroom. The floor of the dining room is of wood and is waxed. The bathroom is equipped with running water, both hot and cold, the former being heated as it

<sup>108</sup> See *The Cafézinho*, p. 124.



passes through a pipe in the firebox of the *poia*. The house is wired for electricity, which is furnished by a small generator, located on the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village. Only three or four other dwellings in the community compare favorably with this house.

The furniture in the dining room is of a quality superior to that seen elsewhere in the village or surrounding area and is better cared for. There are a factory-made table, six chairs with imitation-leather seats, two buffets (the only ones in the community), one of the two wall clocks in the village which strike the hours,<sup>106</sup> a china cabinet, and the only radio in the community.<sup>107</sup> A long corridor leads from the outer door to the dining room, from which another door opens directly into the space behind the counter in the owner's store.

There is a set of furniture in the bedroom, including a bed, a wardrobe, a dressing table, and a chair, and also a child's bed, all of which are factory-made. In the kitchen, there is a *poia* covered with tile which has an oven, an unusual occurrence. There is also a small sink, with running water, both hot and cold, and a factory-made table, chair, and two medium-sized cabinets for keeping utensils and supplies. In the bathroom, there is a small porcelain bathtub but no lavatory or stool. In the house live the storekeeper, his wife, and two children.

One of the least adequate houses in the village, which is similar however in most respects to a number of other houses, is 16 feet long, 12 feet wide, and measures 7½ feet to the eaves. The walls are of *pan a pique*, without either plaster or calcimine. In several places, the dried mud has broken and fallen off, leaving small holes through which insects and rain can enter. There are three rooms: a small bedroom, a tiny kitchen, and a small front room. The floors are of earth. The rooms are all without ceilings, the under part of the roof, which is of tile, being exposed. The two doors are of plain boards and the two windows are merely vacant spaces, with wooden shutters which are swung open during the day to admit light and air. The kitchen stove is a small, crude *poia*. The only utensils are a cast-iron pan and an enamel kettle. The bed is a narrow, cheap, factory-made

bed, with a corn-husk mattress and a worn cotton blanket. A box in the corner is used to keep the clothes of the family. A broom, made of fresh green branches tied around a pole, leans in a corner of the kitchen. There are no chairs. In the front room there are a box, a small table made of old boxes, and, leaning up in one corner, a hoe. A small unpainted shelf about 5 by 16 inches is above the table, on which are a few cans and a small mirror. In the house live a young couple and their 6-month-old child.

#### FUEL AND LIGHT

All families in the village and on the farms use firewood for cooking. In most cases, the supply is gathered from day to day, in a nearby piece of timber, usually by the women and children. Dead limbs and sticks are picked up from the ground and carried home in bundles on the head (pl. 7). Occasionally, the *foice*<sup>108</sup> and the ax are used to cut the larger limbs into convenient lengths.

Many women enjoy this task. "I like very much to go after firewood," said a woman in the village. "If we don't need any at the house, I go with the other women. It's a long way and there's a hill so steep you have to rest three or four times climbing it. But if I see someone coming back with firewood and they haven't asked me to go along, I don't like it at all."

All families in the village have either to bring firewood from nearby patches of timber or, in a few cases, to purchase it from someone who is clearing a piece of land. Of 17 farms visited, 13 have an adequate supply of firewood. One farm is without a piece of timber and the family has to buy all the wood used. On the three other farms, the supply is nearly exhausted and at least part of the firewood has to be bought. Corncobs and corn husks are used for kindling, and matches to set them afire. To economize on matches an attempt often is made to keep wood burning continually, at least during the day.<sup>109</sup>

In all farmhouses visited and in all houses in the village except two, light is furnished by kerosene lamps, lanterns, or *lamparinas*. The lamps and lanterns are few. The *lamparina* consists merely of a small bottle or tin can about 6 inches

<sup>106</sup> The other is owned by the storekeeper's father.

<sup>107</sup> Since this was written, another village storekeeper has installed a radio with a battery set.

<sup>108</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 30.

<sup>109</sup> Pipes are often lighted with a burning twig from the fire.



high and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, supplied with kerosene, a metal cap, and a wick.<sup>122</sup> An occasional villager or farmer owns a flashlight.

The two houses in the village that are supplied with electricity receive it from a small generator on the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village. Along a rock and cement channel about 16 inches wide and 20 inches deep, water flows from a nearby stream into a metal tube about 12 inches in diameter through which it drops several feet to turn a small turbine located inside a building, which then turns a small dynamo about 12 feet away. Light is supplied to *fazenda* buildings and the nearby village church, as well as the two houses.

On some farms, the limited amount of heat given out by the *poia* is occasionally supplemented, on the colder evenings and nights, by a fire placed on the earthen floor. If the night is quite chilly, someone may replenish it periodically during the night. One village family has an alcohol stove on which to make *café* without having to build a fire in the *poia*. Candles are commonly used in the family *oratórios*, although sometimes a teacup, or small glass, is provided with oil and a wick to use for this purpose.

#### DRESS

Men commonly wear light cotton shirts<sup>123</sup> and cotton trousers. Except on the colder days or upon special occasions, coats are seldom used. An occasional man owns a woolen cape which he wears on rainy days, draped over the shoulders and fastened about the neck. A leather belt, shoes, and a battered felt hat, all of which are factory-made, usually complete the clothing worn by the men. Neckties are rarely used. They are sometimes worn on Sundays and at religious or secular festivals and dances. At one of the latter, however, only 6 men among the approximately 50 present had on neckties. A few men in the village always wear ties on social occasions, as also does the administrator of the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village. The *juiz de paz*,<sup>124</sup> a farmer, wears a necktie when officiating at weddings. A villager

has three ties which he rarely uses and which he says are 17 years old.

Women usually wear light cotton print dresses. Especially on the farms but also in the village, these are often patched and sometimes ragged. Aprons are occasionally used. Hats are seldom worn, except when in the field, on which occasions an old straw hat may be used. On colder days, and when going to a nearby town, a cotton kerchief may be tied over the head. A faded umbrella occasionally is used when walking in the hot sun. Many women have at least a cheap coat to wear to Mass on the colder days. In the house, when it is cold, a cotton blanket may be worn wrapped about the head and shoulders of the mother and, perhaps, of the baby in her arms.

Men rarely go barefoot, a practice which is rather common among the women, both on the farms and in the village. The shoes worn by the men are occasionally of ankle length but are more commonly either oxfords or *alpargatas*, low shoes with rope soles and canvas tops. High leather boots or puttees commonly are worn as a protection against snakes while on uncleared land. Quite often, the women use slippers with toes of leather or of cloth, some of which have no backs. Neither men nor women wear stockings or socks, except on special occasions, such as Sundays or days of *feita*, when cotton or lisle may be worn, especially by the young men and women. A small girl occasionally uses ankle-length socks and a small boy the three-quarter length stockings common to the boys' dress in the cities.

Village men usually wear shorts but no undershirts. An occasional villager, however, and most farmers use *ceroulas*, or long, white, cotton drawers. The undergarments of the women usually are limited to light cotton slips and, less commonly, panties. Girdles are never worn. Only occasionally are handkerchiefs carried.

The clothing worn by the older children is similar to that of the parents. A boy usually wears a light cotton shirt and pants and a girl a light cotton dress and undergarment. When quite small, or up until around  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 years of age, a boy commonly wears at home only a lightweight shirt that reaches to the waist and a girl a similar garment, or a somewhat longer dress. An occasional child of this age, when at home, goes without clothing of any kind (pl. 5, d). Both boys and

<sup>122</sup> The gasoline pressure lantern employed by researchers working on this study was so admired that shortly after field work began, similar lanterns were purchased by two of the local storekeepers, the owner of the principal *botequim*, the baker and a farmer.

<sup>123</sup> A young man recently was observed to be using a cotton undershirt in place of a shirt, an innovation in the community.

<sup>124</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 60.



girls go barefoot, except in the colder weather when some sort of footwear, usually leather sandals or light canvas shoes may be used.

Although the clothing when worn at work may be quite dirty and often ragged, that worn to Mass or to *festas*, dances, and other public gatherings is almost invariably clean and whole. The rather striking variation between the condition of everyday work clothes and those used on other occasions reflects an evident and intense pride and care in personal appearance when in public.

On a farm which was visited, the father was wearing a cotton shirt, cotton trousers, and low leather shoes, without socks. His wife had on a faded cotton dress and apron. She was barefoot. A 7-year-old boy also was barefoot. He was wearing light cotton pants and a light cotton shirt. His three sisters, aged 6, 10, and 12, also were barefoot. Each wore a light cotton dress. A 6-month-old baby had on a cotton dress, a cotton slip, and improvised cotton diapers. The clothes of the family, although patched, were clean. Another farmer who was visited on the same day was wearing a faded shirt, light trousers, and scuffed oxfords, without socks. His wife had on a threadbare dress and a light jacket. On her feet were old slippers. She wore no stockings. A 12-year-old boy was barefoot. He wore a light shirt and short pants. The grandfather was also barefoot and dressed similarly to the father. All the clothing of this family was of cotton and most of it was quite soiled.

On a chilly day when the thermometer registered approximately 0° centigrade, or freezing, a mother in the village was observed to be wearing a cotton blouse and cotton skirt and a light cotton jacket. She was barefoot and without stockings. Since 7 o'clock in the morning, she had been at the creek, washing clothes. Her 14-year-old daughter was wearing a cotton dress and a light cotton jacket. She also was barefoot and without stockings. A 10-year-old son had on a cotton shirt, cotton pants and canvas shoes, without stockings. A 62-year-old woman, who was observed on the same day, had on a cotton dress and apron and over her head and shoulders she wore a threadbare man's coat. She was barefoot and her hands were trembling with the cold. A 35-year-old woman who was accompanying her had on a cotton

print dress. She also was barefoot. A 7-year-old girl wore a similar dress, without sleeves. Her 10-year-old sister had on a light cotton dress, over which she wore a faded coat with long sleeves. Both girls were barefoot. A 7-month-old baby had on a cotton dress and a loose crocheted woolen jacket. On the same day, a farm mother and her two daughters, aged 9 and 13, were observed to be barefoot and without stockings. The mother was using the same dress, now showing much more wear, of thin cotton material which she had been using on the occasion of a previous visit, several months before. The two girls had on cotton print dresses with short sleeves. The wife of a village official, a woman 35 years of age, was wearing a cotton dress and apron and flannel slippers, without stockings. A 12-year-old girl had on a light cotton dress, over which she wore a cotton smock with long sleeves. She was barefoot. Five boys, aged 6 to 12, who were playing in the streets, were all wearing short cotton pants and cotton shirts. All but one boy had on canvas shoes; he was wearing *tamancos*, or slippers with wooden soles and a leather strap over the toe. A man was dressed in a shirt, trousers and coat, all of cotton. He walked bent over, as if suffering from the cold. Another man was dressed in a cotton shirt, cotton trousers, and a sleeveless jacket. He had on shoes and rude puttees. Most of the children had colds and several coughed from time to time. None had a handkerchief.

As has been indicated, most men, women, and children sleep in the same clothes which they have worn at work or play during the day. In warm weather, these may be reduced to undergarments. The children in a few families use pajamas and an occasional woman or girl, a nightgown.

Few ornaments are worn, except earrings, which are almost universal adornment for the women when dressed for a visit, Mass, *festa*, or dance. The ornaments are ordinarily of cheap alloy with imitation stones, except in rare cases where a more expensive heirloom has been handed down in the family. Cheap rings also are worn occasionally by the women, rarely by the men. Only one person, a young man in the village, wears a wristwatch. The use of eyeglasses is comparatively rare, only three pairs having been observed in the community, two of which were being worn by



women.<sup>123</sup> The *sub-delegado* uses a pair for reading.

#### PROTECTION: THE *FACA DE BAINHA* AND THE *GARRUCHA*

The *faca de bainha* (sheath knife) is often carried by men in the community. The blade varies from about 6 to 12 inches in length, is ordinarily around  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch wide, sharply pointed at the end, and fitted into a wooden handle. It is not worn at the belt, as sometimes is to be seen in certain other communities in the State of São Paulo and other States of Brazil, where the prohibition by the authorities of its use is more openly ignored. It is carried instead in the coat pocket or under the shirt at the belt.

The primary purpose in carrying a sheath knife is to have an effective weapon with which to defend oneself on occasion. At a dance, sheath knives were observed to be carried by at least 5 of the 30 men present. "The dance will not be over until a late hour," explained a villager, "and the men have to go home on the open road." Two of the knives were carried in the coat pocket, and the other three under the shirt at the belt.

The *faca de bainha* is more often used, however, for any one of a number of other purposes: to cut tobacco from a twisted roll and trim corn husks to make cigarettes; to cut *cipó* to use in tying together the poles of a house, a fence, or other construction; to skin animals killed in the hunt; to make repairs on leather harness; to use when eating away from the house; and similar purposes.

The *garrucha* is an ancient firearm rarely to be seen today in the stores of the cities. It is a breech-loading, double-barreled pocket pistol about 10 inches in length. The barrels are around 5 inches long and of large caliber. The number of *garruchas* in the community is much less than that of sheath knives. They are used principally by persons who live on farms and who have occasion to travel at night to and from the village or to and from a neighboring farm. In most cases, they are carried by young men. When a young man arrives in the village, he may give his *garrucha* to the owner of the *bar* or store to keep until he is ready to go home, as a safeguard against possible impulsive action when under the stress of heightened emotion. This is sometimes

also done in the case of the sheath knife, especially while playing cards.

The carrying of these means of protection would seem to be more extensive than the actual danger to be encountered would warrant. The act is perhaps a vestige of a generalized habit which formerly had much more reason for its existence, since *valentões*, or "tough characters," were occasionally to be met, especially on the road at night, and there also was continual danger from wild pigs, *onças*, and similar animals. The extensive carrying of these means of protection today probably is due also, in no small part, to the belief, held intensely by many persons and at least to some extent by all, in the existence and maleficent action of mysterious forces.

#### TOOLS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT

The principal agricultural tool is the *enxada*, or hoe. It is not only used by every farmer in the community but is probably used on all farms more than any other tool and, on a few of the smaller farms, more than all other tools combined. It is especially employed in planting and for cutting grass and weeds out from around growing plants. It may also be used to mix mud for *pau a pique* houses, and similar purposes. The handle is usually a stick around 5 feet in length, cut from a nearby patch of timber, and as straight and smooth as possible to arrange. The blade is of iron, usually about 8 inches wide and 6 inches high, and rounded on the shoulders, although other forms and sizes are to be seen. It is factory-made and has been purchased at a store in the village or neighboring town.

The *enxadão* is a similar tool which is also much used, especially for turning over dirt somewhat as is done with a spade, except that the principal motion is a chopping motion; it is also used for digging holes or shallow furrows for planting. The blade is narrower and longer than that of the hoe and measures from 5 to 6 inches wide and is about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The *foice* also is much used, especially for cutting weeds and brush and trimming trees. The blade is curved, about 14 inches long and terminates in a blunt edge nearly 4 inches wide. The *podãozinho* is a similar instrument, except that it is smaller, being about 11 inches long and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide. It is used to strip the leaves from stalks of cane and for similar tasks. The *cavadeira* is used to open small holes

<sup>123</sup> One pair had been purchased without the assistance of an oculist or optometrist.



in the ground in which to plant maize, or to set bamboo or other small poles when building a light fence. It has a slender blade 10 inches in length which tapers from about 3 inches at the point to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches where the handle is inserted. The ax used locally has a steel blade about 7 inches long and a cutting edge which extends a little over 5 inches. The upper side of the blade is straight; the lower side, however, slopes inward from the tip until, at the handle, there is a width of only 3 inches. The sickle is used to harvest rice; it is factory-made.

The maul used locally for splitting wood always has an iron head. The wedge also is of iron. The pick is used on occasion, as also is the shovel. Like those of the *enxada*, the blades of the *enxada*, *foice*, *podãozinho*, *cavadeira*, ax, shovel, and pick, and the head of the maul, are all factory-made, and the respective handles have been cut from local timber and fitted by the farmer.

The plow is used less than the extent of its presence in the community would seem to indicate. Both terrain and tradition are against it. The hoe is more easily handled on hillsides. The tradition of hoe agriculture, like the slash and burn technique, is deeply rooted. The plow is factory-made and has a steel share and moldboard. The fore part of the beam rests upon a small iron wheel. With the exception of bolts and braces, all the other parts are of wood. The *riscador* is a sort of diminutive lister used to open shallow furrows for planting. It also is factory-made. The share is of steel; all other parts are of wood. The *gráde* is a simple, triangular harrow made by the farmer or a village carpenter. Each side is about 4 feet long. The frame is of wood and the teeth are iron spikes. The village carpenters and most farmers have handsaws. The *traçador*, or cross-cut saw, also is occasionally used.

The *facão*, or machete, is a useful instrument for cutting one's way through vines and dense undergrowth in the *mata*. It is a long and sharply pointed knife with a slightly curved cutting edge. The blade is of steel and usually measures about 16 inches from handle to tip and varies in width from about  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches at the handle to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches at the point of curvature. It is factory-made and usually is worn at the belt in a leather sheath. Further details of these implements may be observed in figures 8 to 11 and plate 15.

As has been indicated, there are used for hunting or protection, the rifle, shotgun, *picapu*, slingshot, *garrucha*, and *faca de bainha*; and for catching fish, the *covo*, *tarrafa*, trotline, fishpole, line, and hook.<sup>114</sup> The *arapuca*, used for trapping game birds and small animals also has been described elsewhere.<sup>115</sup>

Threshing beans is accomplished by piling the beans and beating them with long, pliant sticks (pl. 11, c). For winnowing, the *apá*, or winnowing tray, and the *peneira*, or sieve, are universally employed. Each is woven of *taquara*, is round in form, and measures approximately 24 inches in diameter. The *tipiti* for squeezing *cidra* when making *cidrão* is described elsewhere.<sup>116</sup>

The *monjolo*, once widely used for crushing maize, rice, and other foodstuffs is disappearing from the community. Villagers will say, "*Cabou*" (It is gone). If one visits about the countryside, however, he will find at least six farmers whose *monjolos*, although seldom used, are still in good order and will function on occasion. One farmer has two, both of which he sometimes uses.

The *monjolo* consists of a large mortar and pestle, operated by water power (fig. 12). A wooden "hammer" is mounted on an axle and made to operate like a walking beam, alternately raising its head and dropping it into a wooden mortar. A beam observed on a farm in the community is about 9 feet long, 10 inches wide, and 6 inches thick. It is made of *jacarandá* which, as has been indicated, is a hard, durable wood. The head, or *mão* (hand) as it is called, is also of wood and is fitted into one end of the beam. It is somewhat pointed on the lower end so as better to fit, as it drops, into the mortar below. In the opposite end of the beam, a trough has been cut about 18 inches long and 4 inches deep. The mortar also has been made of *jacarandá*. It is firmly set in the ground, out of which it extends about 16 inches. The upper portion has been hollowed out to leave a cavity about 14 inches in diameter at the top whose sides gradually slope inward until, at the bottom, the cavity is only about 2 inches in diameter.

The *monjolo* is set up at the side of a small stream from which water is diverted and made to

<sup>114</sup> See Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping, p. 22.

<sup>115</sup> See The Arapuca, p. 83; also plate 20.

<sup>116</sup> See Sugar Making, p. 88.



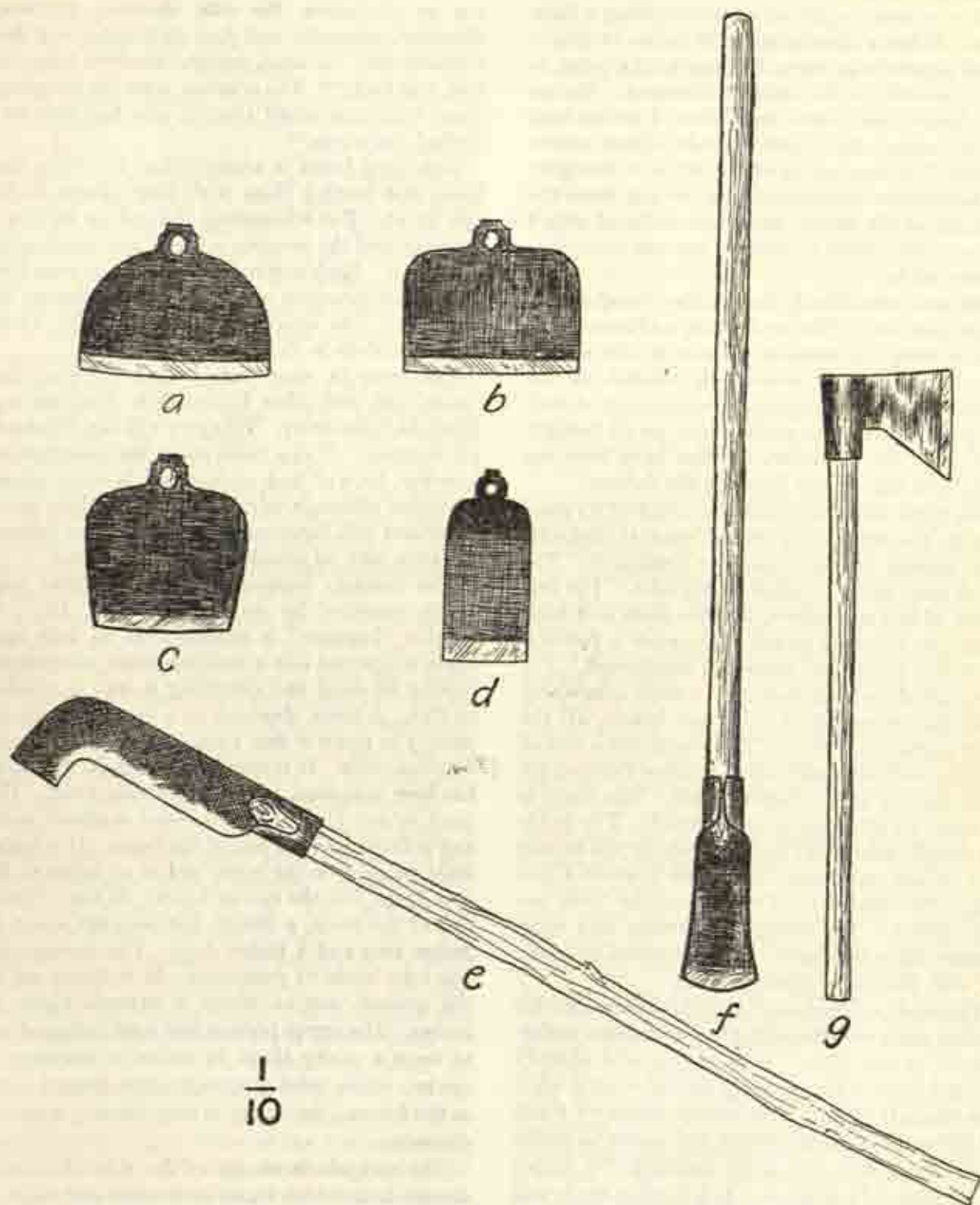

 $\frac{1}{10}$ 

FIGURE 8.—Farin tools. a-c, Blades of three types of *enxada*, or hoe. d, Blade of *enxada*. e, *Foice*. f, *Garadeira*. g, *Ax*.



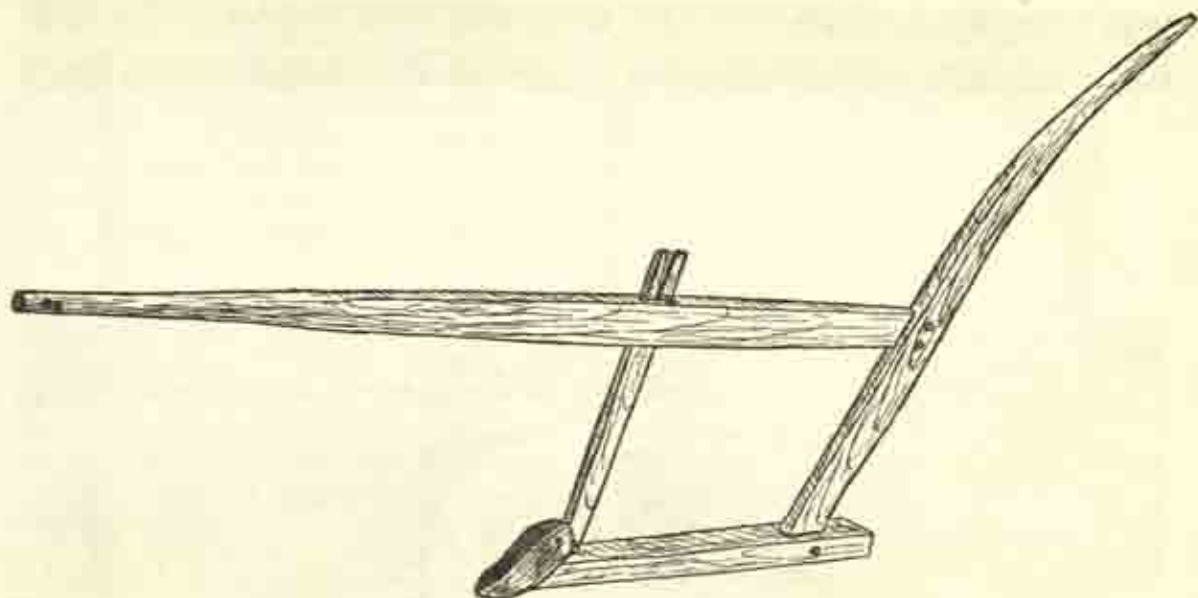


FIGURE 9.—*Biscador*, a kind of lister, used to make shallow furrows for planting ( $\frac{1}{10}$  natural size).

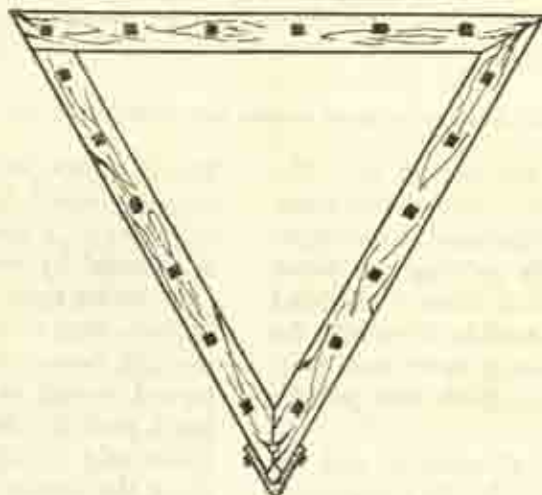


FIGURE 10.—*Grão*, or crude harrow, made of wood, with iron teeth. Each side is about 4 feet long.

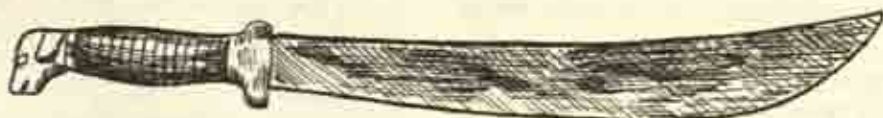


FIGURE 11.—*Facho*, or machete ( $\frac{1}{10}$  natural size).



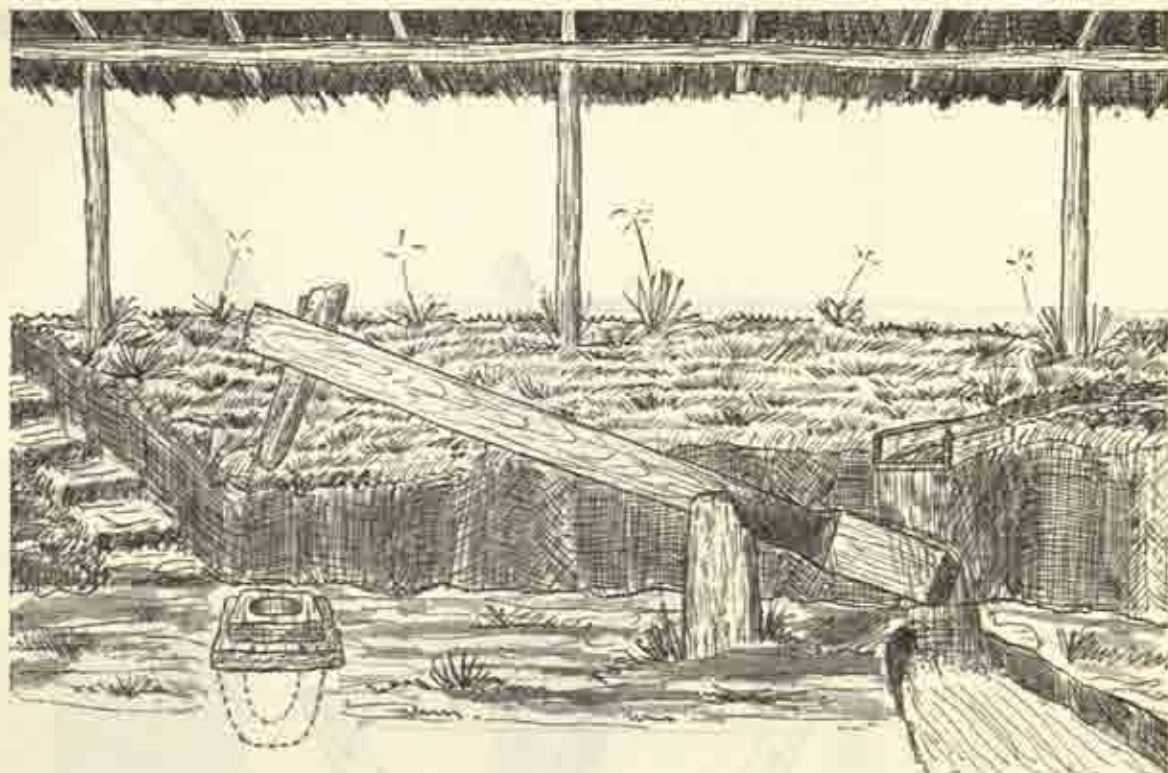


FIGURE 12.—*Monjolo*, or large mortar and pestle driven by water power.

fall into the trough. As the trough fills, the weight of the water pulls this end of the beam down, automatically raising the head at the opposite end, and simultaneously spilling the water out of the trough, which thus releases the head so that it drops with considerable force into the mortar. This action, repeated over and over, eventually pounds into a relatively fine powder whatever is in the mortar.

The *monjolo seco*, or "dry" *monjolo*, and the *pilão d'agua*, both once used in the community, have disappeared. The *monjolo seco* was similar to the mechanism described above except that it was operated with the foot instead of water power. The operator stood on an elevation at the end of the beam opposite the head while alternately stepping upon the beam and releasing it, thus automatically raising and dropping the wooden head. "It wasn't so hard to work," recalls a local resident. "Someone would take it for a while, someone else would relieve him, and so on."

The *pilão d'agua*, or *tutúca* as it was also called, consisted of from two to six walking beams similar to that of the *monjolo* except that each was considerably smaller and lighter. The beams were lined

up side by side, and each set to have its hammer alternately raised and dropped into a mortar. At right angles, a wooden cylinder several feet long was turned by water power. Into the cylinder, some inches apart and at varying positions on its surface, were driven as many lugs as there were walking beams, each of which, as the cylinder turned, would, in succession, catch the end of a beam, push it downward and then release it, thus alternately raising and dropping, one after the other, the wooden heads into their respective mortars. "You couldn't get enough maize," said a local farmer, "to keep a good *tutúca* going."

Also used in manufacturing processes are the *mós*, or grinding stones; the *forno*, or oven for baking bricks or pottery, making charcoal or toasting maize flour; the *alambique*, or still, for making *pinga*; the mold and the *bodoque*, used in making brick; the skimmer used in making *rapadura*; the wooden rake used in making charcoal; and the water wheel. These instruments are all described elsewhere.<sup>117</sup> One villager and a few

<sup>117</sup> See sections on Grinding Maize, p. 86; Sugar Making, p. 87; Brickmaking, p. 89; Pottery, p. 84; Distillation of Pinga, p. 90; Making of Charcoal, p. 90.



farmers own hand-powered corn shellers which are factory-made. Most farmers have a simple press for squeezing out cane juice, called the *engenho*. It may be operated by either hand or animal traction. An *engenho* observed on a local farm had iron cogs, stood about 6 feet high, and was turned by means of a horizontal pole about 19 feet long. Occasionally, the cogs are of wood (pl. 15).

The *poia*, or local stove; the *pilão*, or mortar; the *girau*, or wooden platform; the *gamela*, or wooden bowl, the wooden basin for bathing, and the iron and sewing machine, all to be seen with greater or less frequency in village and farmhouses, are referred to elsewhere.<sup>124</sup>

Used locally in transport are the riding saddle, *charrete*, *carroça*, oxcart, *carrinho*, *cacamba*, pack-saddle, wheelbarrow, and boat, together with certain accessories, such as the yoke, goad *picud*, *jaed*, bridle, and harness. The *charrete* is used for carrying persons. It is an open, two-wheeled cart with shafts for a horse or other animal. The *carroça* is a similar cart for delivering milk or chickens or other light produce. The oxcart is usually about 6½ feet long and 3½ feet wide and clears the ground 2 feet at the axle. The tongue is built into the body of the cart so that the cart tilts as the tongue is raised. Some oxcarts have solid wooden wheels, called *rodas duras*, held on a wooden axle by a wooden pin; others have iron-rimmed wheels with wooden spokes and an iron axle and may also be fitted with a hand-operated brake. In either case, loads are held in place by wooden uprights spaced about every 18 inches, inside which a long, pliable mat made of *taguara* may be stood on end and bent in an oval to form a relatively tight box approximately the length and width of the oxcart and about 4 feet high. The *carrinho* is a miniature oxcart pulled by hand and used to carry light objects. The *cacamba* is similar to the oxcart but is smaller and has wooden sides and ends. It is used for hauling dirt. Boats are built locally of boards sawn from native timber and are maneuvered with poles and puddles which have been cut in the *mata*.

The packsaddle is composed of a heavy pad laid over the animal's back and an upright of wood supported by it on either side, from which large baskets are suspended. It is held in place by wide

leather straps which pass around the animal's breast, under the belly and over the rump. A second pad is placed under the baskets to protect the animal from friction. The local riding saddle is similar to a western saddle except that there is no horn and the bow is wider and set in such a way that the legs of the rider, provided he is thin enough, fit under it. Saddlebags of raw cowhide are sometimes used. The *cilhão*, or ladies' side saddle, is occasionally seen hanging on the wall in a farmer's house, but is rarely used today.

The central portion of the ox yoke is of wood, as also are the uprights that fit on each side of the animals' necks. Fastenings are of leather. The goad is made of a stick about 5 feet in length, to one extremity of which is attached a small spiked wheel. A lash of braided leather about 3 feet long also is fastened to the stick. The *picud* is a simple cloth sack used for carrying small objects while traveling on horseback or on foot (pl. 2, f). The *jaed* is a rectangular basket with rounded corners, made of *taguara*. It is attached to each side of a packsaddle and is used for carrying grain, fruit, and similar objects. The size varies. A pair observed being used were each about 20 inches long, 16 inches wide, and 30 inches high. The headgear of bridles is of leather; the reins are sometimes of leather, occasionally of rope. The harness is of leather, rope or chain. The *bocó*, also called the *patrona*, is a canvas or leather satchel used to carry food or ammunition. One farmer in the community was observed to own a sled. It has wooden runners and was said to have been introduced into the region by Japanese. Further details of these means of transport may be seen in plates 13 and 14.

On 17 farms visited, the tools and other equipment owned by farmers were as listed in table 9.

TABLE 9.—Equipment on 17 farms, Cruz das Almas community, 1948

Kind of equipment	Number	Kind of equipment	Number
Hoe	96	Engenho	8
Enxada	45	Harrow	8
Foice	42	Mão	4
Ar	33	Charrete	4
Hammer	29	Carroça	4
Cavadeira	22	Corro	4
Pick	16	Crescent saw	5
Packsaddle	19	Oxcart	3
Facho	18	Cacamba	10
Hand saw	18	Podderinho	1
Pilão	13	Turrala	1
Flux	11	Boat	4
Wheelbarrow	10	Carrinho	4
Maul	9	Sled	1
Moedor	8		

<sup>124</sup> See Dwellings and Furnishings, p. 42.



## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Although the metric system of weights and measures is standard for Brazil, several units of length, surface, and capacity commonly used in the community vary from those employed in the cities. The Government, for instance, lists all land for taxing purposes in *hectares*; but farmers in the community universally count the size of their holdings and those of their neighbors in *alqueires*. The *alqueire* is subdivided into the *arefa*, *braça*, and *palmo*. The *palmo* is the span, or the distance from the thumb to the tip of the little finger when the thumb and fingers are extended; it is equated in the metric system at 20 cm. The local *braça* is the space covered by the outstretched arms; it is equated at 2.2 meters. The *arefa* (task) apparently was originally the area of land a man could be expected to work in a day with a simple implement like the hoe; it is equal to an area 12.5 *braças* square. The *alqueire* is 32 *arefas* or 5,000 square *braças*. One-fourth of an *alqueire* is called a *quarta* (fourth). The term *alqueire* is also employed as a unit of capacity; as such, it is equal to 50 liters. A unit of weight generally used in the community and sometimes still used in the cities is the *arroba*; it is equated at 15 kg. A common unit of distance is the *legua*, or league; it is equated at 6 km.

## DIVISION OF LABOR

Specialization, except that which is identified with the sex division, is little developed in the community. Nearly all men, whether living on farms or in the village, work with the soil and produce food. Even those few villagers who give most of their attention to other employments, usually spend at least part of the time tending a piece of land which they own or rent outside the village, or a small garden back of their houses, or they occasionally work for wages on the *sítio* or *fazenda*<sup>122</sup> of a farmer in the community.

At the same time, the increase of population under the condition of a static land supply has left several families with little or no farm land of their own. There also are a few other landless families, especially among those which have migrated to the community, as well as a few unattached individuals who also own no land. Considering the fact that

there is virtually no farm land in the community which is not occupied, the heads of these families, and the unattached individuals, must find employment elsewhere. If they are not engaged as day laborers on the *sítios* and *fazendas* of the more advantaged families, they may find work at the quarry, in the limited opportunities still existing for cutting timber and making charcoal, or driving a truck (three individuals). Other exceptions are the *padre*, the registrar of vital statistics, the mail carrier, the baker and his two sons, the *soldado*,<sup>123</sup> the horseshoer, the tinsmith, the three storekeepers and the owners of *botequins*.

A few men, in addition to working with the land, add to their incomes by part-time employments of a different character. These include barbering, carpentry, basketry, grinding maize, and making *rapadura* or *pinga*. A man who owns and works a small farm about a mile from the village, comes in every Saturday and Sunday to cut the hair of villagers and farmers and, more rarely, to shave them. He also builds coffins and, more occasionally, makes rough benches, tables, or chairs. At least three men make baskets for their neighbors. (See Basketry, p. 83.) One villager knows how to cut and lay rock for rough sidewalks as needed (see pl. 13, f), and a farmer knows how to repair drums on occasion. Two farmers operate mills for grinding maize (see Grinding Maize, p. 86) and one makes *pinga* (see Distillation of Pinga, p. 89).

As is indicated in greater detail in the section on *Vendas* (p. 91) there are three storekeepers in the village who give all their time to tending their stores, as also do the owners of the two *botequins*. Two of the storekeepers, however, as well as both of the owners of *botequins*, also own farms. The horseshoer estimates that he shoes from 40 to 50 horses, mules, or burros a month. "It's rare for a day to go by," he says, "without at least one animal to shoe." He also does some barbering and in addition, puts half soles on shoes for villagers.<sup>124</sup> Most of the work done by the tinsmith is limited to soldering handles onto cups and pails. Two years ago, a 64-year-old farmer left his farm and purchased the village bakery where, together with two of his sons, he now bakes all the bread

<sup>122</sup> See p. 60.

<sup>123</sup> In addition, this man has a license to drive a truck, although at present he is not working at this employment.

<sup>124</sup> See *Sítios and Fazendas*, p. 64.



consumed in the village and surrounding area, as well as simple cakes and pastries. (No housewife, as has been indicated, bakes bread.)

One man in the community is especially adept at making charcoal, and devotes most of his time to this occupation. He takes great pride in his work. He says:

I have been making charcoal for nearly 30 years. When I was a small boy, I began to build *cateiras*,<sup>121</sup> only little ones at first, of course, and then bigger and bigger ones. Making charcoal is a beautiful work, if you have the knack for it. You do get pretty dirty, but if the job is done right, it gives you real pleasure. I enjoy watching a *cateira* burn well; I like to see that little spiral of blue smoke come out while I control the burning and, when the wood is all cooked, to take out that fine, firm, charcoal of the best quality. A sack of charcoal, when the sacking has been done right, is a pretty thing to see. At the mouth, you put in a few long pieces, and then sew the sack with string in a neat way. Sometimes, though, I take great pains to do everything right and then when the buyers come, they throw the sacks around any old way so that by the time the charcoal gets to the city it's all broken up. It hurts you to see those fellows doing that after you've taken so much pains to make the charcoal just right.

Twenty-eight men are at present employed in preparations for quarrying.<sup>122</sup> Eleven of them live in the village. All were formerly farmers or farm laborers. Most of the income of their families at present, however, comes from this employment, 6 days a week, if the weather permits. When rain is heavy, work has to be suspended and incomes consequently suffer; this is especially true during the rainy season, when work is often interrupted.

There is no physician, nurse, dentist, or pharmacist<sup>123</sup> in the community, the nearest specialist of this sort being in the towns of Boa Vista and Piracema. During the past few years, however, a dentist who lives in São Paulo and whose sister is the wife of the administrator of the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village, has been spending week ends in the community, doing dental work.<sup>124</sup> Disease is ordinarily treated by one of at least three *curandeiros*<sup>125</sup> in the community, one of whom lives near the village, one some 5 miles away, and the other on the margin of the com-

munity; or by the *benzedoras*, or "blessers,"<sup>126</sup> three of whom live in the village, one about a mile away and another near the bend in the river, some 8 miles from the village by road. One of the village officials keeps on hand antitoxin and a syringe, to use, on occasion, in the treatment of snake bite. He also gives injections, the technique for which he learned while in army training some years ago. In addition, he sometimes sends a note to a physician in Boa Vista regarding the symptoms of a person who is ill and receives and administers remedies prescribed by the physician.

The only sacred specialist who gives full time to his employment is the *padre*. The *capelão*,<sup>127</sup> however, the village sacristan and bell ringer, the *leiloeiro*, the acolytes, and the patronesses also assist, on occasion, in the rituals of religious ceremonies and festivals. Each of the "blessers," who also obviously are sacred specialists, has other and more common employment.

The activities of the *padre* are more fully described in the section on Sacred Functionaries. Although he gives full time to his profession, he does not give full time to the village community. He lives at the Seminary in a neighboring city where, on weekdays, he teaches. He comes to the village each Saturday and remains over Sunday.

A characteristic feature of village life is the ringing of the church bells (see pl. 9, a). The bell ringer is a man 68 years of age, of low stature, and crippled in one leg. He earns a frugal living tending a small piece of land, which he owns near the village, and working for other farmers. His status is more specifically defined, however, by his work as the village bell ringer, combined with his services as sacristan of the village church. He is known throughout the community, and has been known for years, simply as *João Sineiro* (John, the Bell Ringer), his original surname being long unused and largely forgotten.

He takes great pride in his work. He plays many improvised rhythms, at times gay and lilted, at others, solemn and sad. The "announcements" of Masses and *rezas* are played in a variety of ways, rarely lapsing into mere routine, even when repeated, as they are in May and June, day after day. The bell ringer is quite conscious of his role.

<sup>121</sup> Individuals who treat disease with magical formulas. The three *curandeiros* are also "blessers."

<sup>122</sup> See Sacred Functionaries.

<sup>123</sup> See Making of Charcoal, p. 80.

<sup>124</sup> See Preparations for Quarrying, p. 38.

<sup>125</sup> Since this was written, a man from São Paulo has moved to the village and has on sale in his home a small stock of drugs.

<sup>126</sup> Since this was written, the dentist has purchased a house in the village and has begun to spend more time there.

<sup>127</sup> Individuals who treat disease with herbs and other folk remedies, including magical formulas.



Although the use of a coat, as has been indicated, is not customary in the village, he always wears a coat when he comes to the church to ring the bells. He is punctual. Near the appointed hour, he may be seen coming along the street, his eyes usually fixed on the ground but occasionally lifted as he greets, with seriousness and circumspection, an acquaintance. At the same time, he is quite modest. "Yes, I ring the bells a little," he says. "Not very well. But there's no one else who wants to ring them and so I go on doing the best I can."

The church is the principal structure in the village and, in comparison with the homes of the community, is well preserved and cared for. One commonly hears expressions of pride on the part of villagers in their church. Consequently, the ringing of the bells has a prominent place in the life and thought of the community and, with it, also the bell ringer.

The mail carrier brings the mail on foot from the nearest point on the rail line. Although he owns a horse, he rarely uses it for this purpose. He is 56 years old. Rain or shine, through dust and mud, unless the rain is extremely heavy or prolonged, he has made the two-way trip daily, except Mondays, for 24 years. Like the bell ringer, his task has become his name so that to all the community, and to many in it who do not know or can with difficulty recall his actual surname, he is *João Correio* (John the Letter Carrier). He also prepares and sets off fireworks for village festivals,<sup>128</sup> and if occupied with the latter task may, especially in recent years, let someone else, usually his son-in-law, substitute for the day at carrying the mail.

The present village grave digger is a white-haired man, 57 years old, who has had this responsibility for 12 years (pl. 9, g). He is also charged with keeping the cemetery cleared of weeds and grass, and the water reservoir clean and functioning properly.

On days of religious *feita*, the *leiloeiro* is an important and essential personage in the community. He has the task of auctioning the *prendas* which is ordinarily done sometime between the morning Mass and the afternoon procession. The *prendas* are objects which have been donated by parishioners to help those in charge of the *feita*

pay expenses. The *leiloeiro* must possess certain characteristics which are relatively rare among the population: the ability to appear prominently in public without self-consciousness and to engage and to hold the attention of a group of people over a considerable period of time by speaking freely and without embarrassment. His task is to seek by humorous statement, exaggerated gesture, and the use of unusual words, to provoke good-humored and spirited bidding on the part of those present. Upon the ability of the *leiloeiro* obviously depends the financial success of the *feita*.

The present *leiloeiro* is Bicaça, a Negro man about 5 feet 4 inches in height, active, energetic, and facile in vocal expression. He is noted for exaggerated body movements and unusual words. He is pleasant in manner and well-liked.

At the appointed time, during a recent *feita*, one of the leaders called to the *leiloeiro*, "Bicaça, isn't it time to begin?" To which he replied, "Yes sir, you should order and not ask. Where is the little hammer? Let's make money for the *santo*!" And taking up his position in the *barraquinha*, or shelter for this purpose, erected in front of the church (pl. 17, d), he continued to speak as if automatically, saying, "Gentlemen and ladies, let's begin the auction of the *feita* for Nossa Senhora da Piedade. Let's start with this beautiful water glass. Look, my good people, what a pretty, attractive glass it is! And you can have it for only two cruzeiros! Who will give me that insignificant sum for so lovely a glass? See, it has flowers painted on it! All you have to do is to put it on top of the table and the house is decorated. You don't even need any flowers." As someone raised a hand, indicating that he would bid two cruzeiros, Bicaça speeded up the rhythm of his speech, "My good people, this glass has someone who wants it. Is there no one who will give more? Only two cruzeiros for a beautiful glass like that! It is worth much more. You, Dito (addressing himself to a young man who was standing near the girl to whom he was engaged), look at this fine present for the young lady!" At which, the bid was raised to two and a half cruzeiros. "Two and a half cruzeiros is bid for this glass, my good people! Who will give more?" And the *leiloeiro* continued until no more bids were forthcoming, when he called out, "Five cruzeiros, I give

<sup>128</sup> See Making of Fireworks, p. 82.



you one (striking once with the hammer), I give you two (striking again). No one will give more!" Pausing and carefully looking around the crowd, he then added, "I give you three, and sold to that gentleman there. Here it is, my friend, the glass is yours. Come up and get it and put your *guita*<sup>100</sup> in the basket." Taking up a roasted chicken, Bicáva then said, "My good people, a roasted chicken that smells mighty good. It was roasted by Quim (a villager whose skill in cooking is well known). It is something very special. You can have it for only 15 cruzeiros \* \* \*"

As he continued, Bicáva became more effusive and his efforts were more and more admired by the bystanders who were enjoying the mannerisms that accompanied the words, watching and listening with quite evident interest and pleasure. His original selection as the village *leiloeiro* was an informal process, and reflected a general feeling that his abilities dictated that choice. Not only in the village, but at religious *festas* held at wayside chapels elsewhere in the community, he is asked to serve as auctioneer. His status in the community undoubtedly is enhanced by this role, in which he feels secure since there are no prospective competitors. Once when he was unable to be present and another man was substituted, persons were heard to remark, "*Quá!* to do an auction right, it's Bicáva that's needed."

The *fogueteiro*, or man who makes the fireworks used at village *festas* also has an important function which is described elsewhere (Making of Fireworks, p. 83). As indicated, this is done by the mail carrier, as also, in most cases, is the actual setting off of the rockets, although on occasions when he cannot be present, either at *festas* in the village or elsewhere in the community, another man may take his place (pl. 19, d).

Officials appointed by either the State or the *município* government include the tax collector, the registrar of vital statistics, the *sub-prefeito*, the *fiscal* of the *prefeitura*, the village grave digger, the *juiz de paz*, the *sub-delegado* and the *soldado*. The tax collector keeps the State tax list for the *distrito*, furnishes information to owners of real estate, and collects taxes laid upon it. The present official also owns and works a farm. He is especially proud of the way in which he has

discharged his responsibilities. "I have been tax collector for 29 years," he says, "and I've never had the least complaint either from my superiors or from people in the community. The inspector in Boa Vista goes over my books every month. In all these years, there's never been the least thing wrong with them. Not the least thing!" In the community, he is known and respected as a person and not merely as an official. When the tax rate is raised, complaints are directed at "the Government"; never at the man himself. "He only does what the Government tells him to do," villagers and farmers say. "He has to obey the law." The collector is looking forward to retiring on a pension next year. "The work isn't so hard," he says. "But I like to fish, and when I have work to do, I can't go fishing. Suppose I closed and the inspector came and found me away; it would be awful. If I retire, I can go fishing whenever I like."

During the past 49 years, there have been four registrars of vital statistics in the village, one of whom served nearly 40 years. The present registrar has been 6 years in the village. He is an able and conscientious public servant, 57 years old. He also takes pride in discharging his obligations well. "If I can help it," he says, "nothing goes unrecorded."

The *sub-prefeito* serves without pay under instructions from the *prefeito*, or principal administrative officer in the government of the *município*, the seat of which is located in Boa Vista. The position is at present vacant in the village, the *fiscal* assuming the few responsibilities involved. The *fiscal* normally is charged with collecting fees for licenses, charges for water service from the village reservoir, and similar levies. The present *fiscal* also owns and works a small piece of land. The *sub-delegado* is the law enforcement official under orders of the *delegado* at the seat of the *município*, and also serves without pay. The present *sub-delegado* is a farmer and part-time carpenter who recently sold his land and moved to the village. He is usually asked to build the doors and windows for a new house and, on more rare occasions, to make rough tables and chairs. He also constructed one of the three water wheels in the community (see pl. 15, c). "This is the third time in 20 years," he remarks with pride, "that I've been named *sub-delegado*. My boss in Boa Vista says, 'You handle things very well.' There really isn't much to do.

<sup>100</sup> slang expression for money.



On Saturdays and Sundays, someone may drink a little too much and I may have to let him cool off over night in the village jail. That's about all." The *soldado* is a soldier from the regular army, stationed in the village under the orders of the *sub-delegado* to assist in enforcing the law. Petty infringements are handled entirely by these two men, the *sub-delegado* ordering imprisonment in the village jail, if he thinks wise, for as long as he deems necessary. More serious offenses are referred to the *municipio* officials in Boa Vista, the culprit in the meantime being lodged in the village jail.

Formerly, the principal function of the *jefe de paz*, or "justice of the peace," was, it is said, to decide disputes over land, especially boundary disputes. He also presided at the civil marriage ceremony, a function which appears today to be the only function of the office, to which, however, considerable prestige still attaches. The present *jefe de paz* is a local farmer and his substitute is one of the village storekeepers.

The women, both on the farms and in the village, look after the children, cook, wash clothes, dishes and kitchen utensils, sweep, gather firewood, carry in water and otherwise care for the house and family. Most farm women and a few women in the village work in the fields on occasion, especially when the husband or father needs to complete a certain task before the weather changes. An occasional woman is especially fond of working in the fields. "My mother liked much more to plant or to hoe," said a young farm woman, "than to work in the house. She'd put one of my older sisters in charge of the younger children and she'd go out and spend the entire day in the fields." "For me," said another farm woman, "the work of a woman in the fields is the same as the work of a man." The proportion of the time so spent by women throughout the community, however, is not large.

Most women also know how to mend, and a few do other sewing. At least three women know how to make pottery but at present only one woman actually works at it and then only on infrequent occasions.<sup>121</sup> Two girls at present are working as "servants," one for the wife of the administrator of the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village,

for which she receives food and some clothing for herself and an invalid mother; the other, for a school teacher, for wages. A third girl recently helped for a few days at the home of a villager whose wife was ill.

The relation between "servant" and employer, however, is markedly different from the usually more impersonal servant-employer relation of the large city; it is the relation of the members of one village family to the daughter of another village family. When at work, the girl receives instructions from her employer, but ordinarily in a less direct manner than if she were working in the city. The villager referred to above, for example, whose wife was recently ill, remarked of the girl who was helping at his house, "I think she must live to sleep. I am usually up early in the morning and I light the fire to heat water to make *café*. An hour later, the girl is still snoring. I go up near the bed where my little boy is sleeping and I call out to him, 'Pedro, it's time to get up! You must get your work done!' I always holler loud enough for the girl to hear."

The "servant" is otherwise treated with virtually the same intimacy as if she were a member of the family. When visitors call, she joins in talking to them. At dances, she is a *dama*, or dancing partner, just like any other girl, the men dancing equally with her and with her employer. Between dances, the "servant" seats herself among the other girls and women and converses on equal terms with them. A number of girls and women sometimes stroll arm in arm along a village street, especially at *festas*, and on several occasions the "servant" of the school teacher has been observed walking thus with a group of girls and women, including her employer.

One farm woman, in addition to caring for her husband and children, is the principal midwife in the community.<sup>122</sup> She has had considerable experience, and her prestige as a midwife is high. She takes great pride in her work. "I've never had to call in a doctor to help me," she says. At least four other women sometimes also act as midwives and several others more occasionally, especially if the woman in childbirth is a member of the family or a close friend.

<sup>121</sup> See section on Pottery, p. 84.

<sup>122</sup> See also Leadership, p. 297.



Five women in the village and two farm women<sup>122</sup> add to the family's living by doing sewing, cutting out, and stitching together such items as simple cotton dresses and men's trousers and coats. Five village women wash clothes for families other than their own, on those infrequent occasions when the wife is incapacitated by reason of childbirth or illness. One farm woman occasionally makes saddle blankets. A married woman and two widows eke out a precarious living by receiving men, as part-time prostitutes.

There are two school teachers in the village: one came this year from São Paulo; the other from the same city 15 years ago, shortly after which she married a young man in the village and continued to live in the community, to whose way of life she has now been almost completely assimilated. The work of the school teachers, like that of the tax collector, the tinsmith, the registrar of vital statistics, the postmistress, and one of the part-time barbers, is carried on in private houses; in all cases except those of the barber and the teachers the work is done in the worker's own home.

In general, the men are expected to provide for their families by doing most of the work on the farm, especially the heavier tasks, or engaging in some other occupation which will at least provide the food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities for their families. The women have the responsibility of caring for young children and doing the housework. They may also work in the fields, and especially in the gardens, and they usually help raise poultry and livestock. Hunting, fishing, and trapping are exclusive occupations of the men.<sup>123</sup> The children early in life begin to help their mothers, especially in caring for the younger children, bringing in firewood and water, and soon are also assisting with at least the lighter tasks in the fields.

#### AGRICULTURE

As has been indicated, the basic means of subsistence in this community is agriculture. The principal crop is maize. Of 17 farms visited during the growing season, for instance, all but one had maize in production, the area per farm rang-

ing from 11 *alqueires* (65.6 acres) to 16 *tarefas* (2.9 acres). The fields of maize represented 61.7 percent of the total area in cultivation.

Beans are the second largest planting in the community. Of 17 farms, all but one had beans growing, the area ranging from 5½ *alqueires* (32.8 acres) to 1 *arefa* (0.18 acre) per farm. This represented 16.7 percent of the total area in cultivation. Sugarcane was being grown on 14 farms, rice on 10 farms, onions and potatoes on 8 farms each, manioc on 7, peanuts on 6, sweetpotatoes on 4, *card* on 3, and tobacco and coffee on 2 farms each. Unfortunately, statistical data on production in the area in recent years is given only by *municípios*, so that it is not possible to know the extent to which these various crops are grown on all farms in the community, as well as the total production.

It is clear, however, that the area is not a one- or two-crop area as many regions in Brazil have been in the past and, in several cases, still are. On the contrary, considerable diversification is evident. Of 17 farms, no farm had less than two crops planted; the average number of crops was 6 and the maximum, 11. In addition, all farms except three had at least a small piece of ground in pasture for livestock. On the farm which had only two crops, beans and sugarcane were growing. One of the four farms with eight crops had in production maize, beans, rice, onions, manioc, sugarcane, peanuts, and tobacco. On the one farm with 11 crops, there were growing maize, beans, rice, potatoes, onions, sugarcane, peanuts, sweetpotatoes, tobacco, *card*, and coffee (three trees).

The size of fields, however, is comparatively small; in fact, the areas cultivated ordinarily have more the character of plots or patches than of fields, as known, for instance, in the United States. The largest crop planted on the 17 farms was only 65 acres, and this was divided into 10 different plots. Of the total of 101 plantings, 22 or approximately a fifth, were only a *arefa*, or less, in size. In six cases, the amount in cultivation was measured in number of plants: "25 sweetpotato plants," "120 manioc plants," "150 tobacco plants," "200 manioc plants," "3 coffee trees," "20 coffee trees."

The amount of land under cultivation at any one time also is not large. Two of the 17 farms visited are *fazendas* being cleared of timber and sown to

<sup>122</sup>One is a widow who also washes for other women, is a "blaser" and, occasionally, acts as a midwife.

<sup>123</sup>The wife of one of the village officials sometimes accompanies her husband on an overnight fishing expedition to the river, "because he doesn't like to cook and make *café*."



grass for pasturing cattle (see p. 77). The 15 other farms comprise a total area of 213.5 *alqueires* or 1,275 acres. Of these 1,275 acres, only 236 were in cultivation at the time the farms were visited, although this occurred during the principal growing season, in January and February. There were 573 acres in pasture, of which 540 acres were on one farm; 30 acres were in timber. The remaining 436 acres either were waste land or were lying fallow.

Most produce is consumed on the farm or within the community. The two principal money crops at present are potatoes and onions, although some maize and beans also are sold.<sup>121</sup> Although the growing of onions as a money crop apparently is increasing, some farmers are giving up this crop in favor of maize and potatoes. "You must have rain at just the right time," said a farmer, "to set out the young plants, and you don't always get it. When it does rain, you need a lot of help so as to finish before the ground dries. Then, by the time you've harvested the crop, the price has usually dropped. You have to sell right away, though, for if you don't, the onions will dry out so much you'll lose more in weight than you gain in price."

Coffee and cotton, the principal crops now grown in the State of São Paulo, were also once grown in this community. No cotton, however, is at present in production and only a few coffee trees are left. In 1905, 3,220 *arrobas* (52 tons) of coffee were reported produced in the community; and in 1933, 1,360 *arrobas* (24 tons). In 1924, cotton production was given as 6,200 *arrobas* (396.8 bales) and reported to be at that time "expanding rapidly;" in 1933, however, only 90 *arrobas* (5.8 bales) were reported produced. A severe freeze some years ago is said to have destroyed most of the coffee trees. A local farmer who once had 8,000 trees said, "These hills aren't good for coffee; it gets too cold in the winter." It is also likely that soil exhaustion from extensive cropping contributed to the decline of this crop. The disappearance of cotton cultivation seems to have been due to a combination of circumstances, including unfavorable weather for cotton growing, low prices, and a severe attack by a cotton pest, the *curuquerê*, all of which occurred in the same

year. "There used to be a lot of cotton grown around here," said a farmer, "but after that year when all of us lost the whole crop, we stopped planting it. No one even wants to hear cotton mentioned any more."

The shift from agriculture to cattle raising and dairying which has proceeded rather rapidly in recent years in certain other areas of the State of São Paulo, especially in the so-called "Norte"<sup>122</sup> region, is just beginning in this community. (See p. 77.)

The principal labor used in planting and cultivating is human labor. Most farms are quite small and the work usually is done by the farmer and his family, although some help may be hired, especially to prepare new land or at harvest time. On occasion, men, women, and children all work in the fields; the major portion of the labor, however, as has been indicated, is performed by men. Work is rarely done on Sunday. Quite often Saturday afternoon is also reserved for going to the village to make needed purchases, although, when the farmer is especially busy, at planting and harvest time, this may be postponed until Sunday.

The horse, the mule, and the burro also are used occasionally for traction, especially to pull the plow, the *riscador*, and the harrow. These implements, however, as has been indicated, are by no means as much used as the hoe. Although the first plow is said to have appeared in the community early in the present century, and most farmers now own this implement, one rarely sees the plow being used. It is said to be used most to prepare land for potatoes and maize. There are no tractors in the community. The disk, the planter, and the cultivator are unknown. Other implements used are described elsewhere.<sup>123</sup>

Harvesting also is entirely by hand. There are no mowers, reapers, binders, pickers, diggers, huskers, or threshers powered either by animal traction or motor vehicle. Produce may be carried into the house or shed for storing, or to the village to be sold, in *jacós*, or huge baskets,<sup>124</sup> secured to either side of a horse, mule, or burro.

<sup>121</sup> Literally "the North," although the area is in fact the eastern tip of the state. It is called the Norte because the bandeirantes who left São Paulo for Minas Gerais traveled to this area in a generally northward direction.

<sup>122</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 50.

<sup>123</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 55.

<sup>124</sup> An increasing export is raw milk which is being marketed in larger quantities each year. See Beginnings of Cattle Raising and Dairying, p. 77.



A few farms are still almost entirely self-sufficient. On one farm of about 115 acres, for example, live a 61-year-old man, his wife, and 10 children, 2 of whom are married and have families of their own living in separate houses on the same farm: a total of 21 persons. All food consumed, including sugar (in the form of *rapadura*), is produced on the farm. "The only things we have to buy," says the grandfather and head of the family, "are salt and kerosene, a tool now and then and cloth to make our clothing." Oil for the cane press and other simple machinery is obtained from castor beans which also are grown and processed by the family. The beans were not planted, but grew naturally. The stalks, which are light gray at the base, dark brown midway up and light red and green still higher, are over 5 inches in diameter at the base and reach from 9 to 12 feet in height. The dark-green leaves are large, spreading out from 6 to 17 inches. The fruit grows on stems at right angles to the stalk, in clusters 12 to 15 inches high, containing around 40 berries each.

Although no surplus is produced for sale, all the coffee consumed by this family also is grown and prepared on the farm. A few berries ripen in March but most in April. To harvest them, an area immediately below the tree is cleared, after which the picker grasps a branch with one hand and, with the other, strips off the berries and lets them fall on this cleared space. They are then carried in baskets to a convenient spot where leaves, twigs, dirt, and other extraneous material are winnowed out by means of a large winnowing tray, made of *taguara*, after which they are taken and spread out on the *terreiro*<sup>140</sup> to dry thoroughly. The duration of this process varies with the weather but ordinarily takes about a month, the berries being stirred occasionally so as to dry evenly on all sides. If rain threatens, they must be taken up and spread again after the sun comes out. When dry, the berries are carried and placed in a *tulha*, or depository, for keeping in a dry state until needed, when they are carried to the *monjolo*<sup>141</sup> and the hulls cracked and broken off. The beans are winnowed and then put into a large copper basin, about 2 feet in diameter, and roasted for 15 to 20 minutes with a little sugar; meanwhile

they are stirred briskly to prevent burning. The roasted beans, which are now almost completely black, are then carried to the *pilão*<sup>142</sup> and pounded into a powder, subsequent to which they are ready for use.

The coffee trees had been planted in late "spring," around November. They had been set out on "new" land, which had just been cleared of second-growth timber. The area where the trees and bushes had been heaviest was used for this purpose. Holes 1½ spans wide and an equal distance long and deep were dug with the *enxada*, 15 to 16 spans apart. Three coffee beans were then dropped in, a short distance from each other, and covered with dry leaves. Stakes about 2 spans long were cut and laid to cover partially each hole, so as to shade the new plants. When the beans had sprouted, or some 3 months later, the amount of sunlight to reach the young plants was increased by removing the stakes. They were then stuck in at the side of the plants to help support them during the first months of life. From time to time, the plants were weeded. The first crop was produced 3 years later.

Although the land surface in the region, as has been indicated, is quite irregular and soil easily washes away during a heavy rain, no attempt has been made to control erosion. Terracing and contour plowing are unknown. Although one crop occasionally is followed by a different one in the same field, there are few systematic attempts at crop rotation. Nor is any effort made to restore fertility to the soil by planting legumes or other soil-building crops, or by scattering barnyard manure upon it. As has been indicated, there are no barns. In a country where "winters" are ordinarily mild and even warm, livestock usually run in pastures during the entire year and consequently manure does not accumulate. Commercial fertilizer occasionally is used, but the cost is prohibitive for most farmers in the community. Of the 17 farms visited, on only 2 were commercial fertilizers being used, in quite limited quantities. If the farmer has sufficient land, he may let a field *descançar* (rest) 3 or 4 years.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> See *Dwellings and Furnishings*, p. 45.

<sup>141</sup> All the fields on one farm observed had been in continual production for over 60 years. Crops to some extent had been rotated.

<sup>142</sup> See *Hygiene and Body Habits*, p. 30.

<sup>143</sup> See *Tools and Other Equipment*, p. 51.



During the past 6 years, a Government agronomist has been stationed at Boa Vista to assist farmers in the region of which the community under study is a part. "He's a good friend of ours," said a villager, "because he knows farmers here are hard workers." The actual acceptance into the community of any new farming technique as a result of the agronomist's recommendation is, however, doubtful. Present techniques all seem to be traditional, handed on from fathers and grandfathers. Farmers tend to be convinced that they themselves are better informed on such matters than is the agronomist, an attitude reflected in the somewhat extreme remark of a young farmer: "Those fellows know only about books; they haven't any practical experience. When you show them an onion and you say, 'Look, see how fine the beans are!,' they say, 'Yes, aren't the beans fine!' You take them to see your manioc and they want to know why it isn't bearing fruit. They don't even know the tubers grow under the ground." The agronomist tends to be looked upon, not as a useful instructor on improved techniques of farming, but as a link with a paternalistic government which may supply the more pressing of the farmers' needs. "The agronomist came here once a long time ago," said a villager, "but he didn't come back because he didn't have the support of his bosses, and he can't do it alone. It's like telling a sick man what he should take without giving him any medicine. The agronomist knew what needed to be done but he had no money and he couldn't get any from the government." "To my way of thinking," remarked a farmer, "it should be like this: In each *município* there should be an agronomist who knows farming well. When a farmer sends in a request for something like seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, or credit, the agronomist should go to the farm and see if the farmer really needs what he's asking for, and if he should have as much as he asks. If the agronomist agrees with the farmer, the government should then furnish him what is needed. That's the way it should be."

With the assistance of village officials, the agronomist, on instructions from a politician in São Paulo, recently arranged a meeting on a Sunday with local farmers "to discuss matters of general interest to all." At the appointed time, there were 52 farmers present, all of whom were from

small farms averaging around 24 acres. A questionnaire was presented, to be filled out by each man present. Illiterate farmers were assisted by friends who could read and write. All showed interest in this new experience but doubts were general regarding the positive results to come from it. There was much laughing and looking askance at the agronomist. The questionnaire called for a choice as to which item in each of two sets the farmer considered himself in greatest need: (1) Tools, fertilizer, seed, insecticide, transport, or medicines for livestock; (2) credit, price guarantees, lower interest rates, or farm laborers. When the questionnaires were turned in, all but three of the replies were to the effect that all items on both lists were needed. After considerable insistence on the part of the agronomist, however, the farmers selected only one item from each list, the principal ones checked being, price guarantees, seeds and insecticides, in that order.

#### SÍTIOS AND FAZENDAS

All but four farms in the community are known locally as *sítios*; the four farms are called *fazendas*. The distinction seems to lie in the fact, first of all, that the *fazendas* are much larger; all of the *sítios* are relatively small holdings. More importantly, however, each *sítio* is worked by the owner (or renter) and his family, while the *fazendas* are worked by hired help who ordinarily live on the property, together with their families, if married.

Of the four *fazendas*, one belongs to the State government. Two others are owned by absentee landlords, each of whom lives in São Paulo and delegates the care of his property to an *administrador* who oversees the work on the *fazenda* and arranges contracts with men and their families to live and work upon it. In the fourth case, the owner himself resides on the property and oversees it.

The *fazenda* which belongs to the State government is the largest of the four. It comprises 620 *alqueires*, or about 3,701 acres. Although cattle are raised on it and a small portion is under cultivation, it is used principally as a place to care for horses employed at the government station where antitoxin for snake bite is prepared. It has a resident administrator. There are 24 hired hands, all of whom, together with their families, live on the



*fazenda* in individual houses. The men work by the day and are paid from 20 to 25 *cruzeiros*. In addition, 10 other families live on the *fazenda*, each of whom is allotted 2 *alqueires* (12 acres) to be worked at a rental of a third of the production. The administrator lists the present number of livestock as 82 horses, 500 cattle, 20 mules and burros, 47 hogs, and 20 sheep. Under cultivation are 120 acres of maize and about 3 acres each of sweet-potatoes, manioc, and bananas. There is an elementary school of three grades, with 42 pupils matriculated, all of whom live on the *fazenda*.

The owner of the second *fazenda* lives in São Paulo and his administrator is engaged at present in turning the land into pasture. The property comprises 136 *alqueires*, or 816 acres. On the *fazenda*, in the largest house on the property, live the administrator and his wife and seven children, aged from 1 to 15 years. Two *camaradas*, or hired hands, have living quarters nearby. In 12 other houses scattered over the *fazenda*, reside 66 other persons, including 24 adults and 42 children. Each of these families tends a small plot of land, ranging in size from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres to 24 acres. Work contracts vary. Two families pay a third of their crop as rent and two families pay a fourth. The families that pay a third receive seed and have their land plowed at the expense of the owner; the families that pay a fourth, receive no assistance of this sort. Five other families pay a cash rental yearly of 400 *cruzeiros* per *alqueire*, or about \$3.68 per acre. Two families are furnished houses and the use of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land, respectively, for 2 years without charge as a return for helping clear the land of timber and underbrush in preparation for seeding it to pasture. The mother of one of the hired hands is given food and a house to live in for working occasionally for the owner. All contracts are verbal.

The third *fazenda* lies at the edge of the village, the *sede*, or headquarters, with the principal farm buildings, being located about 200 yards back of the village church. The *fazenda* comprises 360 *alqueires*, or 2,152 acres. The owner lives in São Paulo and the *fazenda* is in charge of a resident administrator. The latter lives with his wife and two small sons in a large farmhouse at the *sede*. Nearby live two men who assist with the work of the *fazenda*, together with their families. There are 16 other houses scattered over the farm, in

which live 34 adults and 15 children. On the *fazenda* reside, therefore, 64 persons, or 40 adults and 24 children. Native timber is being cut off and trucked to the nearest point on the railroad or to a nearby town and sold for firewood, and the land thus cleared is being turned into pasture. Approximately 240 acres have been cleared, and about twice that acreage still remains uncut. Most of the men living on the *fazenda* are engaged in this work. Three families are renters, each of whom pays a third of his crop for a house and a small plot of land. At present, there are 45 head of cattle on the *fazenda*. Forty-six acres are in cultivation, the largest acreage being in maize.

The fourth property is, in fact, only in process of being built up into a *fazenda*. At present, it is composed of four separate pieces of land, each located at some distance from the others. The *sede*, with its farmhouse and other principal buildings, is on the largest of these plots of land, comprising 371 acres, one parcel of which is owned by the farmer's wife. It is located at the side of the road that runs from the village to Boa Vista. The owner lives here with his family, which is composed of 10 adults and 3 children. In addition, four unmarried men live near the farmhouse, each of whom works by the month for 650 *cruzeiros* and is furnished a house and a small plot of land to till. Aside from these small plots, and a 6-acre patch of cane, all the land on this part of the property is given over to pasture. There are approximately a hundred head of cattle, a few of which are milk cows.

The second portion of the property lies about 3 miles away and contains 321 acres. Scattered over it are six houses in which live 24 adults and 10 children. Five of the six families each tills a plot of land for a rental of a third of production. In the sixth house, which is an enormous *casa grande*,<sup>133</sup> live a man, his wife, five children, and a hired hand. Besides tending 15 acres of land, this man, as cane is available, runs an *engenho* for making *pinga*,<sup>134</sup> under contract with a man in São Paulo who, in turn, has a contract with the owner of the property to use the *engenho* for 5 years. On this part of the *fazenda* are 237 acres of pasture, with 190 head of cattle. Eighty-four

<sup>133</sup> See Dwellings and Furnishings, p. 42; also plate 8, d.

<sup>134</sup> See Distillation of Pinga, p. 89.



acres are under cultivation, half of which is in maize.

The third portion of the property is nearby and consists of 240 acres on which live, in one house, a family consisting of three adults and a child and, in a second house, an unmarried man. This land is worked for a rental of half the production. Twenty-four acres are in maize, 9 acres are in beans,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  acres in rice, 3 acres in onions, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres in potatoes. All production is consumed on the *fazenda*, with the exception of part of the onions and potatoes. Seventy head of cattle are being pastured. The fourth portion of the property is located on the other side of the village; it comprises 59 acres and is in pasture.

The entire property is thus composed of 166 *alqueires*, or approximately 991 acres. On the four parts, live 9 families consisting of 42 adults and 14 children. There are 300 head of cattle being pastured on 759 acres of land. Of the 89 acres in cultivation, 66 are in maize.

The size and relative frequency of *sítios* are described in the section on Wealth and Property, page 95.

#### PLANTING, CULTIVATING, AND HARVESTING

As has been indicated, maize is the principal crop. It is planted anytime from early in September to the middle of December. After accumulated grass, weeds, and small brush have been burned off, a patch of land may be plowed; or the corn may be planted directly after the burning. A small opening about 4 inches deep is made with the hoe or *cavadeira*<sup>14</sup> and five to six grains of maize are dropped in and covered with the foot. Preferably, this is done when the moon is waning. In old land, hills usually are a little over 4 feet apart; in new land, only about 3 feet. The plants are weeded twice, about a month after planting and again when needed. The hoe is used for this purpose and, at the first weeding, a little dirt is pulled up around the plants. When ready for harvest, the ears are snapped and piled unhusked on the ground; later they may be carried on the back of a mule or burro to the *paiol* for storage. If the maize is to be sold, it may be husked by hand and shelled in a hand sheller.

Potatoes are increasingly grown. Care is taken to clear the land well before planting. If the plow is used, the land is gone over twice and, if it is new ground, all stumps and brush are carefully cleared out. Furrows are then made with the *riscador* 3 spans apart, and an entire potato, which ordinarily is quite small, not more than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, is dropped by hand every  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans and covered with dirt 1 span deep by another person who follows with a hoe. Three plantings may be made each year: in February or March, in May or June, and in August or September; in each case, before the new moon appears. One weeding, 4 to 6 weeks later, is considered sufficient, at which time dirt is pulled up around the young plants. About  $3\frac{1}{2}$  months after planting, the new potatoes are dug with the hoe and sacked in the field, subsequent to which they are carried and piled in a nearby *rancho*, if available, or taken to the house.

To plant beans, openings about a span apart and 2 inches deep are made with the hoe and three to four beans are dropped into each hill. Two plantings are made each year, one in the "dry season," in September or October, and one in the "rainy season," in February or March. This is done when the moon is waxing. One weeding, 15 to 20 days after the new plants appear, is considered sufficient, the hoe again being used for this purpose. The crop is harvested approximately 3 months after planting. Each plant is pulled up by the roots and carried to the house or to a *rancho*, if available, where they are laid in the sun until the pods are quite dry, which usually takes about 3 to 4 days, after which they are piled up and beaten with long sticks until all the beans are separated from the pods (pl. 11, c). The latter are then removed with a rake and the beans piled with a broom. With the *peneira*, they are winnowed of chaff and other extraneous matter, including dirt, and sacked.

All rice grown in the area is of the upland variety. It is planted in low places where maximum moisture is to be found. The land is first well cleared and worked over with the *enzadão*. Openings about a span apart and 3 inches deep are then made with the hoe, and the amount of rice which three fingers put into a sack can withdraw is dropped into each opening. Planting is preferably in September or October. Beginning about

<sup>14</sup> See Tools and other Equipment, p. 50.



a month later, the new plants are weeded three to four times at intervals of about 3 to 4 weeks. The harvest is in April or May. When dry, the stalks are cut with a sickle and dropped on a large cloth so as to conserve the grains which shatter. The cloth is then tied up and carried on the harvester's back, or, if too heavy, in a *carroça*, to the house. The stalks are then bound into small bundles and beaten over a board, after which the grain is winnowed with the *peneira*. If sold, the rice is marketed unhulled; if used at home, it may be hulled in a *pilão* or taken for this purpose to *Bou Vista*.

Onions are increasingly grown as a money crop. In April or May, 3 days before the new moon, the seeds are planted thickly in beds. Transplanting ordinarily is done in June, July, or August, depending on the weather, since rain and the consequent wet ground is to be taken advantage of and this is the "dry" season. Holes about 3 inches deep and a span apart are made with the side of the hoe and a plant set out in each hole. Rows are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans apart. The dirt dug from the subsequent hole is used to cover the preceding plant. There are three weedings during the growing season, the first about 2 weeks after transplanting, the second around a month later, and the third about a month after that. Harvesting is in October, November, or December. The plants are pulled up by hand and carried either on the farmer's back or on a mule or burro to the *ranchão*, or the house, depending on the conveniences of the farm. The new onions may have to be piled in one of the rooms of the house. They are then braided into long *restecas* for more convenient transport. This is done by taking three equal stems of the cattail plant, and braiding them, inserting the top of an onion each time a stem is crossed over another. When finished, double rows of onions are fastened loosely but firmly together (pl. 11, h).

So far as the quantity of total production is concerned, the foregoing crops are the principal ones grown in the community. Farmers, however, often have a small patch of sugarcane and, occasionally, of sweetpotatoes, peanuts, tobacco, or manioc.

Cane is planted "anywhere." "Land that will not do for any other crop is good for cane," remarked a farmer. The kinds grown in the community are known locally as *java*, *taquara*, *rosa*, *caninha*, and *cristal*. The *java* is preferred for

making *pinga*. A field is cleared with the ax or *foice*, and the refuse burnt. Some farmers then go over the field with the *grão*, or crude harrow. Trenches  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans deep, 2 spans wide and 3 spans long are dug with the *enxada* every 3 feet, into which a cane *mula*, or cutting, is dropped, and a little dirt pulled over it with the hoe, enough to cover the cutting but not enough to fill up the trench. Planting is done at either of two periods in the year, in September or October and in January or February, in each case when the moon is waning. "Three days before the new moon," said a farmer, "is just right." The plants are weeded three times during the growing season, the first time about 6 weeks after planting; the second, a month later and the third, a month after that. The harvest is ordinarily 2 years after planting, although some farmers make the first cutting within a year and a half. Still other farmers wait 3 years. With a *facão* or *podãozinho*, stalks are lopped off even with the ground, trimmed of leaves and dropped into piles, after which they are carried, or hauled in *carroças*, or, if the yield is large enough, in trucks.

As has been indicated, most farmers have at least a small hand press for crushing cane to make *garapa* or *rapadura* for their own use. An occasional farmer has a press which can be turned by animal power. There is only one large mill turned by water power in the community, and it is used to make *pinga*.<sup>148</sup>

Sweetpotatoes also are planted "any place." The land is burnt over and long furrows  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans apart are made with a *riscador* or, more commonly, with a hoe. Planting is done in September, October, or November, in each case when the moon is waning. A piece of vine, about a span long, taken from a previous planting, is dropped in every  $1\frac{1}{2}$  spans. The plants are weeded twice, once shortly after planting and the second time a month later, when dirt is also pulled up around the hills. The new sweetpotatoes may be dug about 3 months after planting, although they are sometimes left in the ground an additional 3 months. Digging is with the *enxada*, following which the sweetpotatoes are piled and carried away on the back of a burro or mule.

To plant peanuts, local farmers select their most fertile land. Planting is done in September,

<sup>148</sup> See Distillation of *Pinga*, p. 59.



October, or November, in each case when the moon is waning. A hole is made with the *enxada*, about 6 inches deep and 10 inches square and three peanuts are planted to a hill. The plants are weeded three times, once shortly after planting, again 6 weeks after planting, and a third time about 2 months after that. At the last weeding, dirt is pulled up around the plants so that only the upper parts are left in view. The new peanuts are harvested about 6 months after planting, the vines being pulled up by hand and left to dry in the sun, after which they are carried to the house or *ranch* in baskets.

To plant tobacco, local farmers also select their best land. A seedbed is prepared early in September, in ground heavily fertilized. Ashes are sprinkled over the bed and left for 15 to 20 days before the seeds are planted. Transplanting occurs in the "time of the rains," usually in December, and early in the new moon. Plants are taken out of the seedbed and set in holes a half span deep and a span apart. Three feet are left between the rows. There are three weedings, a month or so after planting, a month or two later, and just before harvest. At the second weeding, dirt is pulled up around the plants and withered leaves are broken off. In March or April, when the leaves turn yellow, they are stripped off the stalks by hand and carried in baskets to a depository where they are stood up on their stems. The next day, they are hung on an *estaleiro*,<sup>14</sup> two leaves to a side, one on top of the other, and left to dry, which usually takes 10 to 12 days. The leaves are then braided tightly into rolls which are turned twice a day for about 40 days and once a day thereafter until they have dried for some 3 months. All tobacco grown is ordinarily used in the community.

Manioc requires 2 years to produce a crop. It is planted on high, dry land and in the best soil the farmer has. At the beginning of "winter," or about the first of June, the stalks of the previous crop are cut off close to the ground and piled to use for cuttings to seed the new crop. After the land to be planted has been burnt off, trenches are dug with the hoe about 10 inches deep and 10 inches square and 3 spans apart, into each of which

is dropped a cutting containing three buds. About 4 spans are left between rows. Planting is done any time from August to October, in any phase of the moon. The new plants are weeded six times, once every 3 months. Manioc is said to be harvested "in those months which do not have 'r'"; that is, in May (*maio*), June (*junho*), July (*julho*), and August (*agosto*). If the ground is moist, the tubers are pulled up by hand; if the ground is dry and hard, the *enxada* is used. They may also be left in the ground, since manioc keeps indefinitely in any soil.

Almost every farm has at least a few stalks of bananas. They are ordinarily planted on old land. With the *enxada* and the shovel, holes are dug 3 spans square and about 8 feet apart. A shoot with attached roots from a neighbor's banana grove is then set into each hole and the roots covered with dirt. Approximately every 2 months, the weeds are cut away from the new plants and after the first yield, which comes about 1½ to 2 years after planting, a little dirt is pulled up around them. As soon as a bunch of bananas ripens, the stalk is cut off near the ground with a *feice* or a *facão* and the bunch of bananas detached (pl. 11, f). A new stalk soon appears from the stump and will produce another bunch of bananas in about a year.

Although, as has been indicated, groves of oranges are rare in the community, approximately half the farmers have at least one or more orange trees. For planting, young trees are first grown from seeds in a seedbed and when they have reached about a span in height, they are transplanted, preferably in *massapé* soil. They are set out in holes made with a hoe about 3 spans deep and 25 spans apart. Planting occurs anytime in the "time of the rains." The new plants are weeded two to three times a year. If they have been grafted, fruit will be produced in from 1 to 2 years; if not, in from 7 to 8 years. Harvesting may be any time from April to September. A ladder is used for picking.

#### GARDENS AND ORCHARDS

Gardens ordinarily are small and have few varieties of vegetables. On the 17 farms visited during the growing season, the 2 gardens which were most adequately producing food for the family contained, respectively, about 35 tomato, 80

<sup>14</sup> The *estaleiro* is made by fastening a number of bamboo or other poles, each about 6 to 7 feet long, horizontally to two vertical poles of somewhat lesser length.



pepper, 50 lettuce, and 6 *couve* plants; about 500 lettuce, 60 *couve*, and 200 cabbage plants. On two farms, there were no gardens. On another farm, the only plants in the garden were three cucumber vines and, on still another farm, there were only four *zuzu* vines.

On only two farms was garden produce being grown for sale; on one of these, there were about 2,000 pepper plants and a small patch (about  $\frac{1}{20}$  of an acre) of cabbage; on the other, 3 *taréfas* (about half an acre) of squash.

In the village, 9 of the 73 families have gardens back of their houses. In one of these, there are small quantities of lettuce, chicory, radishes, water cress, and sugarcane, the latter taking up the major portion of the ground cultivated. In another garden there are a few plants each of lettuce, carrots, and beets. A third family has a small patch of maize. Another family has about 25 hills of beans. A fifth family has about 30 hills of onions, 10 plants of *couve*, 5 of peppers, and 2 of wild celery, a pumpkin vine, and a *zuzu* vine. Another family has a few lettuce and *couve* plants. A neighbor has a *zuzu* vine and a few parsley plants. Another neighbor has a small patch of maize and six lettuce and eight cabbage plants. The ninth family has a few plants each of carrots, peas, cabbage, tomatoes, peppers, and cucumbers. A few other families have small gardens on pieces of land which they own or rent for farming purposes outside the village.

One reason why vegetables and other garden truck are not more extensively grown is the presence of the *saúva* ant, which in a single night may cut off the plants of an entire garden. "I like greens very much," said a farm woman, "especially *couve*. I used to plant a good-sized garden—enough for my family and to give away to others. But the last 2 years, the ants have cut down everything."

Of the 17 farms, the farm on which the greatest variety of fruit was growing had the following kinds:

Kind of fruit:	Number of trees
Orange	15
Pineapple	12
Peach	12
Jaboticába <sup>100</sup>	9
Banana	6

Kind of fruit—Continued	Number of trees
Mango	5
Papaya	5
Pear	4
Lima <sup>101</sup>	4
Fig	3
Grape	3
Caqui <sup>102</sup>	2
Apple	2
Lime ( <i>limão galego</i> )	2
Araticum <sup>103</sup>	1
Total	85

All fruit grown on this farm is consumed by the occupants, a father, mother, and their 10 children, all of whom are grown and 2 of whom are married and live with their families in separate houses on the same farm. None of the fruit is sold.

On each of the other 16 farms, the number of different kinds of fruit being grown were, respectively: 11, 9, 8 (two farms), 5 (two farms), 4 (four farms), 3 (two farms), 2 (two farms), 1, 0; or an average of 5.2 kinds of fruit per farm.

The farm with the largest number of fruit trees had 263, distributed in the following way: bananas 200, oranges 30, peaches 14, mangoes 13, *jaboticábas* 12, avocados 5, *caquis* 5, limes 2, *limas* 2. One farm had no fruit. On the other 15 farms, the principal fruit being grown was bananas, only 2 farms being without this fruit. The number of stalks on each farm were, respectively, 200, 80, 70, 40, 35, 30 (on two farms), 20 (on three farms), 8, 6, and 3. One farm had no fruit except bananas.

Nineteen different kinds of fruit were growing on the 17 farms. In the order of their frequency they were: bananas, on 14 farms; oranges, on 11 farms; *jaboticábas*, on 8 farms; *limas*, peaches, and limes, on 7 farms each; mangoes, on 6 farms; pears and apples, on 4 farms each; *caquis*, grapes, and pineapples, on 3 farms each; papayas, figs, and avocados, on 2 farms each; quince, citrons, guavas, and *araticums*, on 1 farm each.

The total number of each kind of fruit tree (or plant) on all 17 farms was: *araticums* 1, guavas 2, quince 5, figs 6, avocados 6, *caquis* 9, papayas 10,

<sup>100</sup> *Citrus medica*; not the lime.

<sup>101</sup> A species of persimmon, originally imported, it is said, from Japan. The fruit in Brazil sometimes reaches 3 inches in diameter.

<sup>102</sup> See Wild Fruits, p. 34.

<sup>103</sup> See Wild Fruits, p. 34.



limes and lemons 17 each, pears 18, grapes 24, citrons 50, mangoes 59, *jaboticabos* 87, pineapples 112, oranges 215, bananas 568;<sup>122</sup> or a total of 1,252 fruit-bearing plants on the 17 farms.

Of the bananas, seven species are grown, called locally: *nanica*, *prata*, *maçã*, *São Tomé*, *da terra*, *rosa*, and *de caroço*. The *nanica*, a small, rather sweet banana, is the principal kind grown in the State of São Paulo, and the *prata*, a somewhat larger and less sweet banana, is the next most common. The *maçã* (apple) is so named for its faint resemblance in taste to the apple. *Da terra* is plantain and is always cooked before being eaten. The other three kinds are grown only occasionally: the *São Tomé* is a short, thick banana; the *rosa* (purple) is a species of "red" banana; the *de caroço* (pit, or seed) has many seeds and some persons do not care for it.

On only one of the 17 farms was fruit being grown for sale. At the time it was visited, a field of pineapples, with an estimated 1,200 plants was in cultivation and there were an estimated 300 banana plants.

There are three farms in the community which were not included in this sample and which sell fruit to other families. On one of these farms, there are oranges, bananas, papayas, peaches, *caquis*, and grapes; only bananas, however, are grown in quantities sufficient for other than home consumption. On another farm, are grown oranges, tangerines, pears, quince, avocados, *jaboticabas*, *caquis*, and grapes; only oranges and tangerines, however, are produced in quantities sufficient for sale. From the third farm, bananas, oranges, and pineapples are sometimes sold. One of the three farmers himself does the grafting of trees on his farm.

Only a few families in the village have fruit trees. At the back of one house, for instance, is an orange tree and a mango tree. Another family has an orange tree, a tangerine tree, and six papaya trees. A third family has an orange tree and two grapevines. Another family has only a tangerine tree. Nowhere in the community is fruit sprayed. As has been indicated, no canning is done.

<sup>122</sup> Since, in 10 of the 14 instances involved, this figure is composed of "round numbers," 2 of which are relatively large and others a tendency to overestimate actual numbers was noted. It is probable that this figure is somewhat larger than the actual number of banana plants.

# THE MUTIRÃO

The *mutirão* was once an important institution in this area. Several neighboring farmers would get together to help one of their number with some activity, such as the planting, hoeing, or harvesting of a field, or the building of a house or other shelter. Often while working, the men sang. Meanwhile, the wives, mothers, and sisters would gather at the house to help prepare the food. After the day's work was over, there would be feasting. Then "someone would bring out a *violão* and play it in the *terreiro*," recalls a farmer's wife, "or maybe there would be a *samba*." The term *demão* (aid, help) occasionally is also employed in referring to this institution.

Today, the *mutirão* has virtually disappeared. It is said to be 20 years since the last gathering of this sort occurred in or about the village. For one thing, fields are smaller than they used to be. Inheritance is splitting up the land into constantly decreasing holdings. (See *Wealth and Property*, p. 97.) The diversification of crops has further reduced individual plantings. Increasing population under the condition of a static land supply is also beginning to diversify employment. Several heads of families do not own land, and consequently cannot get a return for the labor they might put into a *mutirão* on another man's farm. The invasion of a money economy has also worked against an institution which was based upon an exchange of services. The decrease in the food supply of the region, in proportion to the population, and the consequent increase in prices, coupled with the extensive inflation of recent years in Brazil, has made the *mutirão* uneconomical, the cost of the feasting which one would like to furnish his neighbors being virtually prohibitive under the present limited income of most local farmers. It would also seem that the economic return from the *mutirão* which a farmer might be expected to receive has declined by reason of a decrease in the quantity and quality of workmanship.

Seventeen men whose farms were visited and who replied to the question, "Why do you no longer 'have *mutirão*'?" gave the following replies:

I plant very little.

My fields are small.

I do not farm very much and the family can handle it.

I can do all my work myself.



I plant little; when I need help, I can always hire someone.

I used to "have *mutirão*" when I planted more; but my fields are now too small.

My men do all the work on this *fazenda*; we don't need anyone else.

In the olden time, a man seldom had more than one principal crop. Today, there is a little patch of onions here, a piece of corn there, a few stalks of rice in another place, and a patch of beans somewhere else.

It costs too much to feed the men.

One has to kill a fat pig and get a lot of other things for the men to eat and in these days that costs a lot of money.

There used to be lots of men but today there are not enough who are willing to exchange work with you.

Exchanging work is more difficult now; some men work at the quarry, some cut wood, some work for other men and don't have farms of their own.

Today, people want to be paid; that makes it more difficult.

It is better to hire workers than to owe a debt.

They don't do a good job. One can't order someone else to work as he should, when he is just doing you a favor.

I don't want people stepping all over my crops. They drink too much. They all want to get through in a hurry and the work is not well done.

The men on my *fazenda* do all the work.

Two vestiges of the *mutirão*, however, still remain. In an isolated part of the community which lies in the bend of the river several miles from the village, two related families occasionally help each other in this way. A farmer interviewed said, "Once in a while I have in a few men. Usually to clear land for pasture. Sometimes to hoe a field of maize. I give them *almoço* and a little *pinga*. I never have anyone for harvesting; I do that myself. People used to "have *mutirão*" with singing and everything. But today, it's not like it was in the olden time." One or two women come in to help with the *almoço* which is taken to the field where the men are working. The *sambas* in the evening and "the man playing the *violão* in the *terreiro*" apparently are now events of the past.

Another vestige is the custom of *trocar dia* (exchange a day). A man will agree to work for a day or two on the farm of another man, in return for which the other man will work for him a similar length of time. Even this arrangement, however, is disappearing. "Except when something has to be done in a hurry," said a local farmer, "What do I gain by exchanging a day with another man? If I put in a day working for him to get him to work a day for me, I am no

further ahead than if I had worked both days on my own farm."

This remark would seem to emphasize the fact that the economic aspect of the *mutirão* was considerably less important than other aspects. It was probably not so much the amount of work actually accomplished that once made the *mutirão* a vigorous institution. It was rather the satisfactions to be gotten from working together with other persons in a joint undertaking under agreeable circumstances. The singing while at work and the stimulus of competition with one's friends made the actual labor light, and the subsequent feasting and music and dancing intensified sentiments of belonging and periodically renewed the collective life.

#### DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE

In the conversation of villagers and farmers, one hears rather frequently the phrase *abandono da lavoura* (literally, abandonment of tillage). The impression is general in the community that less farm produce is being grown now than formerly.<sup>125</sup>

The decrease is due to a combination of circumstances. As already indicated, the population of the area, by reason of the emigration of individuals and families, has declined in recent years. Although a considerable portion of the land only recently was cleared of forest growth, the fertility of the soil of this part and, more particularly, of that which has been tilled for decades, in all probability has decreased considerably as a result of erosion and cropping, especially since the use of commercial fertilizer is rare and that of barnyard manure unknown. Some land is being taken out of cultivation and put into grassland for grazing purposes, the total acreage of which is still small but growing.

A perhaps more important circumstance leading to the decline of agricultural production, however, is the unrest among farmers due especially to the difficulties experienced in dealing with the price and distribution system of the expanding market of the city, under war and postwar conditions.

<sup>125</sup> Unfortunately, statistical data either to support or to deny this general impression are unavailable, but there would seem to be no reason to doubt it.



"I used to take my stuff to São Paulo and sell it in the Pinheiros<sup>10</sup> market," said another farmer. "They charged a *cruzeiro* commission for each *arroba* of onions, or sack of beans or maize or potatoes. They would take what we had brought, give us a receipt for it and when it was sold, you could go and get your money. But the business is done differently now. When you take your produce in, a man buys it and still takes out a commission. Then he sells it to someone else for a nice profit. Those fellows just make their meals off us." "I used to try to sell my produce in Pinheiros," said another farmer, "but I learned my lesson. One day I refused to sell onions here on the farm when I was offered 7½ *cruzeiros* an *arroba*, and took them instead to Pinheiros. When I got there, the best price any one would offer me was 4 *cruzeiros*. I told the driver of the truck to go down to the street where most of the wholesale houses are, but he wouldn't drive on until I had paid him more money. Finally, I sold the onions for 6½ *cruzeiros*, or just a *cruzeiro* less than I'd been offered here on the farm and I had all the expense of trucking." "We work hard," remarked another farmer, "but it's only on shares for the men who buy our produce. We plant and do all the work of raising a crop and we make no more than they do just for buying our stuff and selling it again. That's not fair. But we are helpless. The buyers have us tight in their claws. And they all stand together." "It's fair for the men who truck the crops in to earn something," remarked still another farmer, "They do us a service. But they aren't the ones who make the money. Onions are being bought here now by buyers for 20 *cruzeiros* an *arroba*, while in the city people are paying 3½ *cruzeiros* a kilo. That means an *arroba* is bringing 52 *cruzeiros* in the city. If only there were some way to get rid of those men who stand between us and the people who eat the food we raise!"

The spread between the price the farmer in the local community actually receives and the retail price in the city is, in fact, considerable. As the recent harvest was being gathered, buyers were offering in the community, as has been indicated, 20 *cruzeiros* an *arroba*, or about 3½ cents a pound, for onions; at the same time, onions were selling,

in stores and public markets of the city, at 3½ *cruzeiros* a kilo, or about 8¾ cents a pound. The difference, therefore, between the price actually paid the farmer and the retail price in the city represented an appreciation of 163 percent. Similarly, potatoes were being purchased in the community at 120 to 200 *cruzeiros* for a sack of 60 kilos, depending on the size, or about 5½ to 8¼ cents a pound; while in São Paulo they were selling in the public market for 3 to 5 *cruzeiros* a kilo, or 7½ to 12½ cents a pound. This represents an increase of 36 to 52 percent over the price on the farm. On the same day, maize was being purchased in the community at 45 *cruzeiros* a sack of 60 kilos, or 1⅞ cents a pound; while in the public markets of the city, it was selling at from 1.30 to 1.40 *cruzeiros* a kilo, or 3¼ to 3½ cents a pound. This represents an increase of 73 to 87 percent over the price on the farm.

Thus the cost of moving these three staple crops from the farmer to the consumer a comparatively few miles away and distributing them, was from 36 to 163 percent of the amount received by the farmer. If one also takes into consideration the price which these three staples brought in São Paulo after the harvest season had passed, the price spread is much greater. Potatoes which were sold by local farmers, as has been indicated, at from 5½ to 8¼ cents a pound, cost the consumer in the city, later this same year, as much as 17 cents a pound. Onions which the farmer sold for 3½ cents a pound later brought as much as 20 cents a pound in the city. And maize which sold at 1⅞ cents a pound, reached 7 cents a pound in the city. Even if one takes into consideration normal shrinkage which, in the case of onions obviously is considerable, the lack of storage facilities on the farm, combined with a costly distribution system, results in a sizable variation between the price paid to the farmer and that paid by the consumer.

A young farmer who claimed that he was losing money under present prices was asked to itemize his costs. He set down the following:

*Estimated cost of growing potatoes*

	<i>Cruzeiros</i> per <i>laranja</i>
To cut the brush and small trees on the land.....	25
To trim and burn.....	25
To pull the stumps.....	100
To plow the land.....	25
To harrow the land.....	5

<sup>10</sup> A suburb of São Paulo.



*Estimated cost of growing potatoes—Continued*

	<i>Cruzeiros per tarefa</i>
For the second plowing.....	25
For the second harrowing.....	5
To list the furrows for planting.....	5
For seed potatoes.....	120
For a sack of fertilizer (60 kilos).....	120
To plant the potatoes.....	25
To hoe and pull dirt up around the young plants.....	25
To dig and sack 8 sacks of potatoes (normal yield).....	50
Total.....	555

The farmer then stated that eight sacks of potatoes at the current price of 60 to 70 *cruzeiros* per sack would bring a return of from 480 to 560 *cruzeiros* per *tarefa*, or a loss of 75 *cruzeiros* to a gain of 5 *cruzeiros* on the undertaking.

In evaluating these data, it should be borne in mind that the farmer has listed 150 *cruzeiros* for clearing and burning, a cost not necessary on land already in production. In addition, he has charged for his own work, as well as for fertilizer which, as has been indicated, is rarely used. On the other hand, one should also allow for the fact that the vicissitudes of the weather, the maleficent action of pests, and the fluctuations of the market may cut both yield and price.

The vicissitudes of the weather, which obviously constitute an ever-present hazard in agricultural operations the world over, add to the farmer's perplexities and sense of frustration although, if he were not troubled by other problems, he probably would accept without grumbling these difficulties of a natural order, as an anticipated part of his occupational hazard.

"In 1940," said a middle-aged man, "farming cost me 15,000 *milreis* (\$825) and from that time on, I began to lose my taste for it! That year I had planted onions, cotton, and potatoes. Something happened to the onions; I don't know what it was. The tops grew to be about 30 cm. (12 inches) high and then they fell over and the onions split open and I lost them all. Worms ate up the cotton plants, and just when my potatoes were growing nicely, there came a terrific hailstorm and I lost the whole crop, as well as the money I'd paid out for seed." "Farming is fine and I like it a lot," said a farm boy 15 years old, "but lately things haven't gone so well. After the onions were planted, it rained a lot. They grew too fast and now they're mostly tops. The poor farmer is

going to get left. He's been thinking he'd have a nice crop and while it was growing he has been eating on credit and now he won't be able to pay what he owes."

In the midst of these problems and frustrations, the farmer feels ill-treated, especially in comparison with labor in the cities, news of whose recent gains is beginning to reach the community. A constant complaint heard among farmers is *não temos garantia* (we have no guarantee). "The government helps the worker in the factory," complained a farmer, "but the farmer is completely forgotten. If the factory worker gets sick or breaks a leg, he has protection and everything. But the farmer has nothing like this." "The farmer doesn't have a single guarantee," said a farm boy, 17 years old. "Everyone takes advantage of him." "This year the buyers are paying 5 *cruzeiros* for a sack of cabbage," complained another farm boy. "Why, it costs nearly that much to buy the sack itself! It's the farmer who takes all the losses. If some guarantee isn't given him pretty soon, you will see more and more people leaving the farm." "Everything is different from what it used to be," said a villager. "The farmers feel they are without protection. The government should get rid of those *tubarões*<sup>1</sup> there in the city, all that long line of intermediaries."

As the shift to cattle raising increases, farmers who plant complain of competition with the men who raise cattle. "Another thing that is bad for farming," remarked a farmer, "is cattle raising. You have to fence your land or the cattle will get into the fields. But with the prices of wire and fence posts what they are, you can't afford to do it. Cattle raising is going to put the man who plants out of business." "The law requires a man who has cattle to fence his pasture," complained another farmer, "but he usually manages to get the farmer to pay half the expenses. The man with cattle is also required by law to pay damages when the stock get through the fence and destroy a farmer's crop. But he may get a friend to appraise the damage, and anyway, no one knows what to charge for a crop that hasn't been grown yet, so the farmer usually gets the worst of the deal. I have noticed that shortly after the man with cattle comes, the farmer leaves." "The men who raise cattle close off large pieces of land," said

<sup>1</sup> Literally sharks: slang expression for "profiteers."



a farm boy, "and since they have no need of keeping up the roads through their property, it's more difficult for us to get our produce out to market."

These frustrations are leading many farmers to restrict the acreage they plant. As one visits about the community, he increasingly hears either the threat to plant *só para o gasto* (only for home use) or the affirmation that such a policy is now actually being carried out. At the same time, the restlessness produced by these perplexities and frustrations is leading some of the farmers, and more particularly their sons, seriously to think of abandoning, and in some cases actually to abandon, farming as an occupation.

Unrest appears first and most intensely among the young men, some of whom have learned of the advantages of life in the outer world through being called up for military service. "I've been staying on here only because of my father," said a young unmarried farmer. "When I was in the army, I learned how to drive a truck and I could earn my living much easier somewhere else. But I don't want to leave my father alone." Similar dissatisfactions are clear in the following remarks of other young men:

**A young farmer, 23 years old, married:**

No one gets less for what he does than the farmer. He works hard all day long under a blistering sun, chopping weeds in hard dirt, and then he gets little for it in the end. You never know how a crop will turn out. Sometimes the weather helps but often it hinders. And the worst is that when you do raise a crop, you can't get anything for it. When it's growing, prices are good, but by the time it's ripe, the price has dropped. If the price stays up, it's because the crops aren't any good. For nearly a year now I've been thinking about some other way of making a living. I'll do any kind of work that will pay more. I'm used to farming, though, that's what I know best. I like this place and I wouldn't think of leaving it if I could make a living here. Really, I just don't know what to do.

**A farm boy, 19 years old:**

The farmer works the year around, planting, hoeing, harvesting, and he makes very little. The price of everything he has to buy is high and that of everything he has to sell is low. But he has to sell in order to pay what he owes for food the family has already eaten and for tools he has had to buy. Sometimes, he can't put in as large a crop as he would like because the storekeeper will not give him more credit.<sup>30</sup> And the storekeeper is right because if the crop fails, the farmer can't pay and the storekeeper can't afford to cut his own throat. Some-

times the farmer doesn't even have enough money to buy good seed. Or he doesn't plant a certain crop for fear the ants will destroy it and he hasn't enough money to buy the insecticide and a pump to put it on. Another thing that makes farming difficult are the poor roads. A farmer hears that the price of some crop is good and he hurries to get a load off to market. By the time he can arrange a truck and get it loaded, it begins to rain, and there you are! Every year in April, the men get together to fix the roads; but after two or three good rains, they are as bad as ever.

**A farm boy, 17 years old:**

The life of a farmer is more difficult than any other life. He works 10 hours a day in the hot sun, while the mosquitoes suck his blood. Sometimes he sweats for nothing because it doesn't rain when it should, or it rains too much. He has no guarantee of any kind. People in the city work a few hours a day and get vacations and a much easier life.

**A farm boy, 17 years old:**

When the price of everything goes up, the factory workers go out on strike, saying everything is high and they want more money. But the farmer can't strike when the prices of the things he sells go down. The poor farmer, who suffers so much, just goes on suffering.

**A farm boy, 16 years old:**

The farmer provides food for the country. But the country thinks only of the workers in the factories. They ask for a raise and they get it. They work short hours. But if the farmer wants to eat, he has to work all the time and even then he lives in poverty. They have everything nice in their houses; there is nothing lacking. And they can do whatever they like whenever they want to. The only thing the Government seems to do for the farmer is to put higher and higher taxes on him.

**A farm boy, 19 years old:**

A farmer works hard until he sees he isn't making any headway. Then he gets discouraged and begins to look for some other way to feed his family. When food is high, the Government fixes the price but that's only for people in the city. And it's really the farmer who pays. Those men who buy our stuff still make a big profit, even with fixed prices. They don't lose, believe me! They just pay the farmer less and go on making money. Can you blame the farmer for leaving the farm?

**A farm boy, 18 years old:**

For farmers to work with any enthusiasm, they need a guarantee from the Government, something to assure them they won't suffer loss when the weather is bad; they also need credit, to furnish them what they need up until the time of harvest. The Government should fix the price of produce so that no one can buy for less than a fair price. Only in this way can the farmers go on working. As it is now, they have every reason to abandon the farm. When the time comes that there is not enough food in the city, maybe something will be done.

<sup>30</sup> See Money, Credit, and Wages, p. 97.



According to men who hire help on their farms, farm labor is less efficient than formerly. "No one today wants to work like they used to," complained a farmer. "I have a terrible time getting my work done." "These boys nowadays," remarked another farmer, "don't want to *pegá no pesado* (*grab hold of the heavy*). They think life in the field is too hard for them."

Into this situation of increasing restlessness, news of what seems to be a more advantageous life in the towns, as is clear from the foregoing remarks, is beginning to filter. Although, in this area, the attraction of the metropolis of São Paulo in the past has been quite limited, it is increasing and may soon be felt in sufficient strength to alter materially life in the community.

Beginning late in the nineteenth century and receiving its first major impetus about 1915, there has sprung up, in and about the city of São Paulo, as has been indicated, the principal manufacturing center in Latin America. This development was accompanied by a sizable increase in population, owing in part to natural increase but more particularly to immigration from Europe and to migration from rural areas, especially the interior of the State. Thus the city which in 1890 had a population of only 64,000, is now a metropolis with nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants. The need for manufactured goods which previously had been imported from Europe and whose supply had been shut off by war conditions, added impetus to this movement during World War I and again, more recently, during the second World War. The demand for labor increased markedly and wages responded to this demand, climbing higher and higher, until they came to constitute to many rural inhabitants who heard of them for the first time and who were ignorant of the increased costs of living in the city, an attractive and eventually overwhelming lure, to which they in turn responded by migrating into the city in considerable numbers. This migration appreciably reduced the number of farmers in certain rural areas, the lack of whose labor in no way was offset by the introduction of labor-saving machinery; consequently, food production has declined. At the same time, the swollen population of the city has augmented the demand for food, a demand which, due to a lack of roads, insufficient transport, and the necessary

organization, is not being adequately supplied by imports from other areas of Brazil where surpluses exist, and food prices in the city, aided by the current inflation, have risen to unprecedented levels.

Any further decline in agricultural production will make increasingly acute the food shortages already being registered in the price levels of São Paulo, especially if, at the same time, the population of the metropolitan area continues to increase. Although these shortages may not become as serious as a local resident predicted when he said, "Some day people in the city will be getting a wad of money from their employers and there won't be any food to buy with it," the problem of food in the cities is a crucial problem and at present it is increasing in intensity.

#### DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Domestic animals in the community include horses, burros, mules, cattle, goats, sheep, hogs, chickens, guinea fowl, dogs, cats, and songbirds. Of these, the most important are the horse, burro, and dog, although the cow is growing in importance yearly, as cattle raising and dairying increase. Chickens are kept by almost every family in the village and on the surrounding farms. The principal kinds raised are called locally *ligorne* (Leghorn), *amarela* (yellow), and *carijó* (Plymouth Rock). Oxen, sheep, turkeys, geese, and guinea fowl are relatively rare. Hogs are comparatively few since a severe epidemic of cholera a few years ago killed off virtually all hogs in the community. On the *fazenda* which lies just outside the village, there are 14 horses, 4 oxen, 2 burros, 15 milk cows, and 35 head of other cattle, 18 hogs, 2 sheep, 50 chickens, 8 geese, and 2 dogs; there are no goats, ducks, turkeys, guinea fowl, or cats. On another *fazenda*, there are 3 horses, 3 burros and mules, 24 milk cows, and 93 other head of cattle, 3 hogs, 60 chickens, 4 geese, 1 dog, and 3 cats; there are no sheep, goats, ducks, turkeys, or guinea fowl.

Of 15 *sítios* visited, I had 30 milk cows and 151 head of other cattle. Only two other *sítios* had any cattle: on one there were two milk cows and on the other, six milk cows. The average number of other domestic animals on each farm was: horses 1.1, burros 1.4, hogs 5, sheep 1.5, goats 2.1,



chickens 45, geese 0.4, ducks 6.3, turkeys 0.1, guinea fowl 0.3. In addition, there was an average of

3 dogs and 2 cats per farm. These data are indicated in table 10.

TABLE 10.—Number of domestic animals on 15 *sitios*, Cruz das Almas community, 1948

Sitio	Horses	Burros and mules	Small pigs	Other cattle	Hens	Sheep	Goats	Chickens (multi-mate)	Geese	Ducks	Turkeys	Guinea fowl	Dogs	Cats	Total
1	2	6			8			60					2		65
2	1	1			8		2	60					1	3	68
3	2	2			11		1	20					6	1	43
4	1				2			45		7		3	5	2	68
5	2							15		2					22
6		2			2		5	40		6			1	2	56
7	2	2					2	90		8				3	110
8							1	100						4	107
9	4	1			7			66		40			4	4	118
10		2	2		10		2	50		7			3	3	76
11								45		20					70
12	1	3	5	1	8		4	15		1	2		3	3	47
13					1		2	40					4	4	49
14	1	3	30	161	30	22	5	60	6			3	5	5	259
15	1														6
Total	18	21	38	163	78	22	33	670	6	94	2	6	44	29	1,307

The ox occasionally is still used to pull out stumps and for similar heavy work. If a farmer is without oxen, he may hire a team when needed for these purposes. The horse is used for transport, rarely for traction in the fields. Most often, he is saddled for riding, and occasionally hitched to a *charrete* or *carroça*. The burro and the mule are the principal beasts of burden. They are preferred to the horse for their ability to resist harder work over a longer period of time. The ordinary load of a packsaddle is 60 kilos to a side, or a total of about 260 pounds. At times, however, up to 400 pounds are carried by one of these animals. A burro or a mule is rarely hitched together with a horse, since "he will shirk his load and make the horse pull most of it."

In general, the ox is used for those services which require greatest strength and the horse for those which require greatest speed. The burro and the mule are considered of intermediate value with reference to both services. In this community, the ox is not used for riding, as sometimes is done elsewhere in Brazil; the horse is used principally for this purpose, as also are the burro and the mule, at least to some extent. The ox pulls only things and the horse principally persons. The burro and the mule are used in both cases. The ox is seldom used to plow, list, or harrow; the horse, burro, and mule are used for all these services, about equally for listing and harrowing, the burro and the mule more commonly for plowing.

Farmers and villagers often live in close physical, and at times social, relations with their domestic animals. Not only dogs and cats but chickens and other fowl and, occasionally, pigs and small goats, walk in and out of many farmhouses almost at will. A farm woman who was keeping a small pig in the house explained, "I'm fattening him. It's easier to feed him here. Outdoors, you throw something to him and the other pigs take it away. He's very tame. The children call him *Sagui* and he knows his name. When I go out to the field, he goes along with me." In the house of a village official, which is ordinarily kept quite clean and neat, several hens, roosters, and little chickens, in addition to the family's two dogs, are often to be seen. When visitors are present, the housewife makes occasional and rather unsuccessful attempts at driving them out.

Children sometimes give names to small animals, as did a 10-year-old girl in the village to the two young kids her family owns, calling them respectively *Cravinho* and *Crarinho*.<sup>127</sup> Although cats are rarely named, a boy in the village who is quite fond of a kitten someone had given him, calls it *Calapiáslho*.<sup>128</sup>

The following sentences, written by a school-boy, indicate the degree of affection which sometime develops between animals and humans:

<sup>127</sup> Corruption of *Clarinho* (Little Light One). *Cravinho* means "Little Carnation."

<sup>128</sup> *Zélio* is a Portuguese diminutive. *Pid* is a Guarani term of affection for a child. The meaning of *coia* is not clear.



I have a young calf called "Little Jaú." He is a good little calf, and a lot of fun. He bellows something pretty like and digs into the dirt with his hoofs and horns. He is a mixed-blood, but a good one. In the morning, he is there bellowing for me to open the gate, to let him eat *rastolho*.<sup>100</sup> After he has eaten all I will give him, he bellows to be let out to pasture. He used to be a little wild, but I am taming him and I curry him every day with the currycomb.

Another schoolboy wrote the following paraphrase of a song about the ox which is rather common in Brazil and which seemed to express his own sentiments.

The ox, on the day of his birth, knows nothing of the hard life to come:

Only two or three months and he will begin to bear heavy burdens.

If his owner decides not to sell him to the slaughterer, He is happy and thinks to himself,

"Who knows? Perhaps I am not going to be killed?" I am a good Little Ox,

Born in the month of May.

I was brought into this world only to suffer and to work.

Ever since I came into the world, I have had to plod long distances and to pull heavy loads.

My coming into the world

Was only to suffer and to work.

The principal burden I bear is a big clodhopper (*cabocão*).

Who strikes me with a club and sticks me with a goad; And if I ram him with my horns and he is injured,

He will say, "Away with this ox to the slaughterer;

Noose like that can pull my *carro*!"

Then, there on the hill,

I will see two horsemen with ropes, coming;

One is my master,

And two dogs following;

And soon it will be all over with me.

#### BEGINNINGS OF CATTLE RAISING AND DAIRYING

Although cattle have been raised in the community ever since it was settled by Europeans, the number of farmers who possessed herds, as well as the number of head involved, have always been small. Most farmers have no cattle. One farmer, however, has been gradually building up a herd over the past 30 years. Another farmer began to keep cattle about 18 years ago and a third farmer about 10 years ago. These three men now have, respectively, 181, 360, and 15 head. Four other farmers began raising cattle from 2 to 5 years ago and now have from 17 to 119 head each.

The farmer who began building up a herd 30 years ago, says:

My life has been like a romance. When I was a boy, I began working as a farm hand for 1 *milreis*, 200 *reis* a day.<sup>101</sup> Then my uncle let me drive his pack train. He had 15 burros. He paid me 17 *milreis* a day. Once as I was returning with the pack train from São José dos Patos, a Portuguese who lived along the road called out, "Don't you want to buy a cow?" I had no money. But I had a mare that I had been offered 100 *milreis* for. I asked the Portuguese how much he wanted, and he said, "300 *milreis*." When I told him I couldn't pay that much, he asked, "How much can you pay?" I studied a bit and then I said, "120 *milreis*." The cow is yours," he said. There was a pretty little calf with her. The Portuguese said, "You bought the cow; better take the calf, too." I offered him 50 *milreis* and he accepted it.

Then I had to do some hustling. I went to the man who had offered me 100 *milreis* for the mare and he bought her. Now I had 100 *milreis*. Then I went to my uncle who owned the pack train and asked him to lend me the rest of the money I needed. He did, and I settled the matter with the Portuguese and brought home the cow and the calf. That was 30 years ago. With that cow and her calf, I began to build a herd. From that day to this, my principal interest has been in raising cattle. I borrowed a little money and bought a few more head. They were cheap in those days. Even some years later, when cattle were worth more than when I made the deal with the Portuguese, you could buy a good heifer or a good steer for 100 *milreis*. Little by little, I built up my herd, until today I have 181 head and 90 *alqueires*<sup>102</sup> of pasture. Raising cattle is a good business.

To prepare his pasture, this man says:

I cut off a piece of timber and made the wood into charcoal. I then planted corn on the land for the next 3 years. When the third crop was still young, I sowed grass seed among it and by the time the corn was ripe, the grass had begun to take over. I used eight sacks of seed to each *alqueire*.<sup>103</sup> It took a year for the grass to get a good start. When the grass had gone to seed, I let the cattle in, and they helped seed those spots where the grass had not yet caught on.

All the work with this herd, including the milking daily of 30 cows and hauling the milk a mile and a half out to the road to be picked up by the bus, is done by this man and his family.

Few cattle in the community are not of mixed breed. There are several part-Holsteins and an occasional part-Shorthorn. One farmer, a Hungarian immigrant, has two Holstein bulls. The

<sup>100</sup> The *milreis* used to be the medium of exchange in Brazil. As the name indicates, it was equal to 1,000 *reis*. In 1942, it was substituted by the *crusado*, with the same value.

<sup>101</sup> About 540 acres.

<sup>102</sup> About 8 acres.

<sup>103</sup> Sacks of corn imperfectly filled out.



zebu is much liked for its hardy characteristics and especially for its resistance to insect pests (see pl. 20, *g*). Many local cattle are descendants of the zebu, mixed especially with the *caracá*.

Cows are milked only once a day, early in the morning, usually about sunrise. The quantity of milk obtained from each cow is relatively small. They are then put out to pasture and left until about sundown when they are driven into the cattle yard for the night and the next morning's milking. The milk is put in cans of from about 2 to 11 gallons each<sup>102</sup> and taken to Boa Vista, where it is delivered to *leitorias*, or raw-milk stations which sell directly to the consumer.

Cheese occasionally is made, but rarely for other than home consumption. A piece of the lining of a cow's stomach used to be dropped into the milk to aid coagulation. "The same piece worked well for 6 months, or so," said an informant. Today a coagulant purchased at the pharmacy is used instead. A "pinch of salt" is also added. When the milk is well curdled, the mass is put in a cloth bag and hung to drain. The curds are then placed in a tin can like one seen being used which was about 6 inches in diameter and 8 inches high and had its sides perforated to permit any remaining whey to escape. A weight is laid on the curds to hasten this process and left about a day, after which the rather soft cheese is taken out ready for use.

Of the several kinds of grass that grow in the community, the *catingueiro*, or *gordura* (literally, *fat*), is preferred for pasture because of the ease with which it can be seeded, as well as its vigorous growth. Local residents distinguish three varieties: the *Negro Hair* (*cabelo de negro*), the purple, and the white. The first seeds were brought into the community only 8 years ago. It has spread so rapidly that farmers who do not raise cattle often protest bitterly against it. "It has become a pest (*praga*) that no one can stand," said a farmer. "It just takes over the land. Once it gets into your fields, there's no way to get rid of it."

#### THE DOG

The dog, and especially the hunting dog, is of considerable importance in the life of the community. In the village, there are approximately

70 dogs. Six families have three each and one family has four. On the surrounding farms, two dogs per family are common; several families have five or six and one family has eight. On one farm are kept 40 dogs, used especially for hunting deer.

All the dogs are of mixed breed. No two observed are alike in form or color. Many are divided, however, into precise classes by their owners, in keeping with hunting or herding characteristics. These classifications include:

Portuguese term	English translation <sup>103</sup>
Paqueto	Hunter of <i>pacas</i>
Perdigueiro	Hunter of partridges
Vendeiro	Hunter of deer
Mestre p'ra porco	An expert with wild pigs
Mestre p'ra capivara	An expert with capivaras
Boladeiro	Cattle herder

Other dogs have, so to speak, no specialty. If one inquires of their owner what they are used for, the reply ordinarily is, "They are only to keep one company."

At first sight, it would seem that many of these dogs are little appreciated. With only one exception among those observed, they are thin, hungry-looking, and unkempt and often have running sores, especially on the ears. Their appearance, however, merely reflects the fact that the dogs live, eat, take shelter, and suffer privation and the attacks of insects along with their owners in a common lot. If there is food, they are fed; if food is lacking, they make the best of it. If insects attack, that fact is considered to be in the nature of things, as similarly is the cure of the sores which the bites produce.

There are numerous evidences of sentimental attachment and even admiration, on the part of the men for their dogs, especially for those employed in the hunt. One hears remarks like the following, "Since Despique died, I have lost every desire to hunt. He was *some* dog! A better hunter of *paca* I never saw." "Do you remember him?" a bystander is asked. "Do I remember him?" comes the reply. "I should say I do! What a good dog he was to have on a hunt." The dog in question has been dead nearly 6 years. Reminiscences of this sort are common in the conversation of the men when they get together, and reveal sentiments not unlike those shown toward human beings. A

<sup>102</sup> The cans are of 10, 15, 20, 25, and 50 liters.

<sup>103</sup> Translations here, as elsewhere in this publication, are made freely, in an attempt to render into English as precisely as possible actual meanings.



friend of Quim, a villager noted for his hunting, was asked, "What would Quim do if someone harmed his dog?" "Listen!" was the immediate reply, "If someone so much as touched a hair of that dog, Quim would kill him." Although perhaps an overstatement, the remark is not uncommon. "Don't you know he thinks as much of that dog as of a son?" added another friend. "How many times he has hunted with him!" Owners readily show satisfaction and pride when their dogs are complimented and betray in the manner in which they glance at them the affection they hold. If a dog is missed, the owner at once drops whatever work he may be doing and goes to look for it, inquiring anxiously of each person he meets and not resting until the dog is found, either alive or dead.

Shortly after the first contact with Europeans, the native inhabitants took over the dog, and he became an important assistant in their daily struggle for existence. The presence of proportionately so large a number of dogs in the community perhaps represents, at least in part, the continuance of a cultural pattern handed down from Indian forebears. The hunt was once an extremely important means of providing food for the inhabitants and even today it is not negligible in this regard. In the thick tangle of vines and underbrush of the forest, the dog was an almost indispensable aid in tracking down game and in forcing it out of hiding places, and also in orienting the hunter so as to bring him safely through the dense growth, the meantime the dog's sharp senses discovered dangers such as poisonous snakes that lurked along the way. The indispensable character of this assistance is reflected in the common phrase, "to be in the *mato* without a dog," which is used metaphorically when referring to any virtually insurmountable obstacle.

Indicative of the personal character of the relationship between a man and his dogs is the fact that every dog, without exception, has a name. Some of these names merely reveal sentimental attachment. Other names, however, symbolize virtues valuable in the hunt or for other purpose, either possessed by the animal in question or desirable in him, like the following:

Name (in Portuguese)	English Equivalent
Alerta	Alert.
Batalha	Battle (i. e., a battler).
Bravos	Lively, or Courageous.

Name (in Portuguese)	English Equivalent
Cacique	Chief, or Leader.
Campêro	Hunter - of - the - Deer - That - Live - in-the-Open-Country (made <i>campêro</i> ).
Certeza	Certainty (i. e., a sure hunter).
Combate	Combat.
Cutêlo	Humming-bird (i. e., one with quick movements).
Despique	Sprightly, or Clever, or Ingenious (reacts instantly to any challenge).
Esperito	Sprightly, or Clever, or Ingenious (the word has several equivalents).
Falasca	Flash, or Spark (from its speed and nimbleness).
Farol	Lighthouse, or Headlight (i. e., one who shows the way, or signals to others the location of game).
Furão	"Penetrator" (i. e., one who opens the way into the deepest recesses of the <i>mato</i> ).
Jagunço	Randit (fierce assailant).
Joque	Jockey (from its speed).
Marcante	"One-Who-Marks" (two meanings: (1) one who keeps indicating where the game is; (2) one who sets the rhythm of barking in the hunt).
Matêro	Hunter - of - the - Deer - That - Live - in-the-Mato.
Mirante	Turret (i. e., one who spies out game at a long distance).
Notícia	News (i. e., the first one to "announce" the presence of game).
Piloto	Pilot.
Primôr	"One-Who-Has-Delicacy," or Excellence, or Elegance (the word has several equivalents).
Proviso	(Altered form of <i>Improviso</i> : The Unexpected or "One-Who-Improvises").
Rapina	Raptor.
Relato	Signal-of-Alarm (from its habits in the hunt).
Ronda	(Masculine form of <i>Ronda</i> : Night Watchman.)
Tigre	Tiger (from its strength).
Tirano	Tyrant (cruel in the hunt).
Topete	"Topknot" (a slang phrase for "one who is bold, capable of facing anything").

Other names commonly used are those of personages or titles which possess prestige (or have possessed it in the past): Duque (Duke), Lorde (Lord), Sultão (Sultan), Barão (Baron), Nabuco (a prominent nineteenth-century Brazilian politician and statesman), Pery (a famous Indian hero in the Brazilian novel *Guarany* by José de



Alencar), Nero, Tupi, Lampeão (a famed bandit of the Brazilian *nordeste*).

Many names merely describe some specific physical or psychological trait which the animal in question possesses. Among these names are:

Name (in Portuguese)	English Equivalent
Alegre	Happy.
Arrogante	Arrogant.
Biscuit	(A slang expression for "an attractive girl").
Blánga	(A term of endearment; of Gnat origin?)
Bolinha	Little Ball (from its shape when a small pup).
Boisinho	Little Ox (from its size and strength).
Brazina	(Altered form of <i>brasilha</i> : little ember; from its color).
Codorna	(A Brazilian bird which defends itself by a change of color).
Carimbo	Rubber stamp (from its spots).
Clarim	Clarion (from the high pitch of its bark).
Colera	(Altered form of <i>coleira</i> : dog collar; from the different color around its neck).
Fineza	Elegance.
Fulã	Maize meal (from its color).
Fusco	Tawny.
Garboso	Proud, or Affected.
Gigante	Giant.
Javali	Pecary (from its medium-brown color).
Leão	Lion.
Lirio	Lily.
Magrico	(Argumentative form of <i>magro</i> : thin).
Malhado	Spotted.
Mico	(A species of monkey; from its dark color and lively and intelligent expression).
Mimo	(Substantive form of <i>mimosa</i> ).
Mimosa	Delicate, or Neat.
Mulata	(Feminine form of <i>mulatto</i> ).
Mulôque	(Literally, an urchin; actual meaning here: frisky, mischievous, spiteful, rascally).
Nebrina	(Altered form of <i>neblina</i> : fog; from its color).
Pandêro	Tamborine (from its bark).
Pulcinha	Dandy.
Pinta	Spots.
Pitêco (or Tôquinho)	Stub tail.
Regulata	(A sort of clarinet; from the timbre of its bark).
Rolinha	(A species of the dove family; from its color).

Name (in Portuguese)	English Equivalent
Sagui	(A species of monkey; from its general chocolate color and white ears, and its lively and intelligent expression).
Tica	(A slang phrase for "The Little Thing").
Tiaf	(Altered form of <i>tiaf</i> : peel; from the timbre of its bark).
Trelento	(A slang phrase for "Full-of-Tricks-and-Artifices").
Veludo <sup>22</sup>	Velvet (from the texture of the hair).

## BEES

One farmer in the community keeps bees, which he purchased a few years ago from a neighbor of German origin who no longer lives in the community. He now has 30 hives. If the bees are unimpeded by drought, the farmer says, each hive will produce around 27 liters, or more than 6 gallons, of honey a year, since in this climate nectar is available virtually the year around. Most of the honey is sold in nearby towns. The present price is 7.50 *cruséis* a liter, or about \$1.49 a gallon, and the honey is delivered in lots of from one to a hundred liters.

## OUTBUILDINGS

The outbuildings on the *sítios* are relatively few. On one of the more adequately equipped *sítios* visited, for example, there is a *paiol*, or crib for storing onions or other produce, especially in the dry season (pl. 20, e). It is set on four heavy wooden supports driven into the ground. The sides are of *taquara* poles and the roof is of *sapê*. There is a wooden door. Nearby is a *chiqueiro*, or small shelter for pigs, the sides of which are of poles and the roof of *sapê*; and a *galinheiro*, or small chicken house, of *pau a pique*, also with a roof of *sapê*. In a nearby field is a *ranchão*, or shelter for farm produce, consisting of a roof of *sapê* supported on poles (pl. 15, f). On another *sítio*, the only outbuilding is an unused shelter for pigs. On a third *sítio*, there are a small chicken house, two of whose sides are of galvanized iron and the others of chicken wire, and a privy of rough-hewn boards, with a tile roof. On still another *sítio*, there are a shed about 6 by 12 feet which is used

<sup>22</sup> Additional names used in the community include: *Violeta* (violet), *Oriente* (The East), *Congonha* (water, or *flor amara*), *Japôna* (local term for a Japanese woman), *Julim* (altered form of *joie*), *Rodaque*, *Sabão*, *Paiva*, and *Tapêna*.



to shelter farm implements and a *charrete*,<sup>100</sup> three of whose sides are of poles and the fourth of large, rough-hewn boards; a small chicken house, three of whose sides are of poles of bamboo and other wood and the fourth is open; a shelter for pigs, about 9 feet square, with sides similar to those of the chicken house, except that the poles are placed horizontally instead of vertically, and the whole is supported on four large stakes; and a structure for feeding small chickens separately from large chickens, made of poles and conical in form, about 3 feet wide at the base and 6 feet high. The roof of the shed is of galvanized iron and those of the chicken house and the shelter for pigs are of tile. Other *sítios* visited usually had a small shelter either for chickens or pigs. One *sítio* had no out-buildings of any kind. There are no barns in the community.

On one of the *sítios* where maize is ground, there is a small machine shop near the mill, made of brick and calcimined on the outside, with a dirt floor and tile roof.

At the *síde*, or seat, of the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village, there are a number of buildings other than the house. Opposite the latter, beyond a yard where the cattle come in, is a dwelling about 12 feet wide by 15 feet long and 8 feet high, used by an employee and his family. Attached to the left side of this dwelling is a shed, open at the front; then another dwelling similar to the first; then another shed; and, finally, a third dwelling, equal in size to each of the other two. Over the five structures built side by side is a long, continuous roof of tile. At one end of the cattle yard, located so that, together with this structure and the farmhouse, it forms a rough U, is the sawmill referred to in the section on Lumber (p. 91). Near the sawmill and to one side of the farmhouse, are two large storerooms, each about 20 feet in width and 16 feet high at the ridge pole. One of the storerooms is 13 feet in length and the other is about twice as long. Beyond the storerooms is another dwelling for employees. On the other side of the house are two low sheds, one of which is used for chickens, the other for calves. Immediately back of the farmhouse is a small privy. All the buildings are of brick, covered with *reboque* and calcimined in white, with tile roofs.

#### MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

A number of relatively simple manufacturing processes are undertaken in the community. Although no one at present makes *pilões* for his neighbors, occasionally a family will prepare their own by burning out the central portion of a log of the desired size and trimming the cavity with a steel chisel and a mallet.

On 9 of 17 farms visited, home-made soap is prepared for the family's use. It is usually made of ashes, beef suet (or lard, if available), and water. Sometimes, either lye or the leaves of the *guazima* (*Urena lobata*), *saia branca*, or *tuna* (a species of cactus) plants are added, although the lye is usually considered an unnecessary expense, especially at present prices.

Holes are punched in an empty gasoline tin and the tin is filled with ashes. Water is added and allowed to drip through into a vessel set underneath. Meanwhile, suet is melted in a *tacho*, or copper pan, and the dark-colored liquid from the ashes is added slowly until "there is enough to cut the fat." The mixture is then cooked until quite thick, being stirred occasionally, if the fire is burning low; continuously, if the fire is hot. In the latter case, cooking can be completed in about 1½ days; in the former, in 3 to 4 days. The soap is then left to cool, subsequent to which it is cut into pieces convenient for handling. It is used for washing clothes, dishes, hair, and the body. Many families, even among those which are able to purchase factory-made soap, prefer the home-made variety. It is thought to be especially efficacious in the treatment of skin diseases and dandruff. "It is mighty good for the itch," said a farm woman, "and also for rash."

A considerable quantity of *linguiça*, or the Brazilian variety of pork sausage, used to be made for sale in the village and surrounding area. Pork was cut up in fine pieces and seasoned with salt and parsley. Pepper, garlic, onions, marjoram, or vinegar sometimes were also used. The following morning, the sausage was stuffed into well-washed casings of pig or goat intestines, and smoked for a day.

As has been indicated, *tucum* fiber is occasionally used. Several fronds of the *tucumã* palm are cut in an available patch of timber and brought home. They ordinarily are around 18 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide at the largest part. The

<sup>100</sup> Tools and Other Equipment, p. 55.



upper side is smooth and the lower rough. The fleshy part of the frond is stripped off, leaving the fibrouslike veins, which are placed over the thigh, as the worker kneels, and smoothed with the hand, after which they are twisted tightly into a slender thread. When the latter is bent in the middle and one end released, it automatically wraps itself around the other half as it unwinds, thus making a larger and stronger thread, ready for use. Even a strand about the size of thread used in sewing is difficult to break without a quick jerk in which considerable force is exerted. "Try it," said a villager, after preparing a few strands. "It is *barbarously strong*." It is used, as has been indicated, for fish lines and, occasionally, to make a *tarrafa*.

The hulling and roasting of coffee beans are referred to elsewhere.<sup>107</sup> Other local manufacturing processes include the making of baskets, pottery, sugar, bricks, charcoal, brooms, fireworks, and the *arapuca*, the grinding and toasting of *farinha de milho*, or coarse maize flour, the sawing of lumber, and the distillation of *pinga*, as well as a few other processes, all of which are considered below.

#### HANDICRAFTS

The spinning and weaving of home-made textiles, once important activities in the community, are no longer to be seen. The products of national and foreign power looms and spindles have replaced entirely the clothing produced by these manual arts. Hat making is unknown. Mats are woven from the cattail plant. The rope used to supplement the extensively employed *cipó*, is factory-produced and imported into the community. Leather work is confined to the repair of shoes by a part-time cobbler who also is the village horseshoer and one of its two barbers. A man 61 years old used to make violas, and on occasion will proudly exhibit the last one he built many years ago. A young farmer possesses, and still uses occasionally for *festas*, a set of drums made by his deceased father. Another man is adept at repairing these instruments. The only wood-working is done by two part-time carpenters, one of whom on occasion, as has been indicated, makes chairs, tables, doors, window frames and, more

rarely, a water-wheel; the other man makes chairs, benches, tables, and coffins. A boat and oars occasionally are made of serviceable, rough planks by farmers living near the river. The only metal working is that done by the villager who shoes horses and by a part-time tinmith, most of whose work consists in soldering handles onto tin cups or making basins or crude kerosene lamps by soldering together pieces of tin cut from tin cans. The only stone work is that of a villager who knows how to break, chip, and lay stone to make the narrow sidewalks and gutters in the village (pl. 13, f).

Crude brooms for domestic use are made by many housewives. From a plant (*Baccharis*) commonly found in patches of timber and known locally as *vassourá* (*vassoureiro*), a number of twigs are broken off and tied with *cipó*, old cord, or a piece of wire, around a stick about 4 feet long. This broom is commonly used to sweep the *terreiro* and earthen floors.

Tanning is limited to the hides of animals taken in the hunt, especially the wild pig, *capivara*, and deer, and of a few domestic animals like the goat and an occasional sheep, and is almost entirely for home use. One man occasionally prepares for sale a *pélego*,<sup>108</sup> made from a sheepskin. The local tanning process is quite simple and consists in stretching out the pelt and scattering over it crushed alum and leaving it to dry for 5 or 6 days, subsequent to which all remaining bits of flesh and membrane are scraped away with a sharp rock.

A few women and girls do embroidery work and some know how to crochet. One woman occasionally knits garments for her neighbors and another has recently begun to knit sweaters and baby socks for sale in São Paulo. Perhaps a third of the women know how to sew. As has been indicated, 8 of the mothers on the 17 farms visited and at least 13 women in the village have sewing machines, five of which are operated with pedals. At least seven women sew for their neighbors, making such articles as women's dresses, blouses, skirts, slips, men's shirt and trousers, and, occasionally, aprons and men's coats. One woman weaves old rags into saddle blankets for home use and, occasionally, also for sale to neighbors.

<sup>107</sup> See Agriculture, p. 62; and Pinga, Tobacco, and Café, p. 41.

<sup>108</sup> The *pélego* is used over the saddle to make it more comfortable for the rider.



## BASKETRY

Basketry is the principal handicraft in the community. Crude, but strong and serviceable articles are produced, without ornament or decoration except, occasionally, that obtainable by alternating the darker outer side of the strips of *taguara*, of which they are made, with a lighter inner side. *Taguara* is excellent for this purpose since, when green, it is pliable and bends readily into any desired shape and, when dry, it holds that shape firmly.

At least three men, but no women, regularly make baskets for their neighbors. Many farmers also know how to construct them for their own use. Regularly made in the community are a number of baskets of various shapes and sizes, including the *jacá*, used with the pack saddle, and the *embornal*, or feed basket to go over a horse's nose. Also commonly made are *apás*, or winnowing trays, and *peneiras*, or sieves, including the large *sururuca*.

Taking up a green *taguara* pole, a man first splits off strips the length and width of which are in keeping with the utensils to be made (pl. 12). If a large basket is desired, the strips may be over an inch wide and several feet long; if a *peneira*, they are much shorter and narrower. Each strip is then taken and placed on a wooden block and hammered with a wooden mallet to make it more pliable. To begin a basket, several strips are laid side by side on the ground and other strips are interlaced at right angles, the numbers in each case depending upon the shape and size desired for the bottom of the basket. When the base is complete, the strips are bent upward and other long strips interwoven around them at right angles, until the sides are finished. The ends of the strips are then bent over and tucked in securely to make the rim, sometimes with a braided effect. A strong, pliant strip of other wood may also be laced into the rim, to give the basket greater strength.

## MAKING OF FIREWORKS

The rockets and *bombas* used in connection with religious or secular ceremonies, are all manufactured locally. The present artisan is the mail carrier who has performed this service during "more than 20 years" in a small shop in the back yard of his home.

"They are not hard to make," he says, "but one must be very careful or they will not go off as they should." Fuses and powder are the only elements purchased, usually in Boa Vista, occasionally in São Paulo. The sticks for guiding the rockets are cut in a nearby patch of timber from either of two plants whose branchless stems ordinarily grow to about 5 feet in height and "the thickness of a finger." The plant most used is called locally *vara de rojão* (rocket stick), or *cravórna* (*Ambrosia polystachya*). The other plant is known as *buva*. When dry, these sticks are quite light. The tube is made of a section of *taguara do reino*, about 8 inches long, cut so that one end is closed off by the natural joint of the *taguara*.

Powder is poured into this tube and tamped down tightly with a wooden rod. A fuse is inserted and held in place by a *bucha de terra*, a fibrous growth of a plant related to the gourd, squash, and cucumber, or the *Luffa cylindrica*, sometimes also used as a sponge for washing dishes. The tube is then inverted and attached with a cord to the guiding stick. Small holes are bored in the tube near its upper extremity, through or just under the joint, and the short fuses of as many *bombas* as desired, usually either one or three, are passed through into the powder.

When the main fuse is lighted and the powder in the *taguara* tube set afire, the rocket will rise, guided by the stick, until all the powder is consumed, shortly before which the fuses of the *bombas* will catch afire and each, in due course, will go off with a loud "boom."

The *bombas* are made of special powder, tightly packed in strong cardboard or cloth containers, the size of which varies but averages about an inch and a quarter in diameter and 5 inches long. Besides being used for rockets, they are also shot off in *baterias* (batteries). A *bateria* is made by attaching, at intervals of several inches, from 10 to 24 *bombas* to a limber but strong stick several feet long which has been stuck vertically into the ground. The lower fuse sets off the first *bomba*, and this explosion sets fire to the fuse of the second, and so on. The last *bomba* is about twice the size of the others and is sometimes called the *mórtiro*. This term is also applied to a large *bomba* set off singly on the ground.



The artisan takes pride in his fireworks, which he himself usually sets off at a *feira*, and he makes them with loving care. "These factory-made fireworks never are satisfactory," he says, "they are made any old way just to sell them. No one keeps thinking, 'Will they be pretty or ugly at the festa?' But if one of my rockets does not rise or a *bomba* does not go off as it should, everyone will look at me, because they know I made it. Not a single one of my fireworks has failed, thank God. That's because I take lots of pains with them. I am always turning people down; for if I can't make these things well—if I don't have time to take pains with them—I won't make them at all. I prefer to lose a customer rather than to have him disappointed." At the last *feira* of São João, requests from the village and the neighboring towns of São José dos Patos, Piracema, and Boa Vista totaled 30 dozen rockets.

#### POTTERY

Dona Maria, a woman 37 years of age, who lives on the border of the community, halfway to Boa Vista, is the only person who now makes pottery, although a neighbor woman occasionally assists her with this task. An elderly woman living in the immediate vicinity and another elderly woman on the other side of the village, also know how to make pottery, but neither has practiced the art for several years. Even Dona Maria makes pottery infrequently, as much as a year or two sometimes elapsing between firings. She makes vessels for her own use and, on request, for relatives or acquaintances who live nearby. When her needs, added to these requests, reach approximately 30 items, the vessels are all prepared at one time.

The clay used is almost black in color. It is obtained from the edge of a brook near Dona Maria's house. She is careful to take it from below the topsoil, so that it is free from organic matter. Dug out with an *enxada*, it is brought into the house and left several days to dry, after which it is pulverized in the *pilão* and passed through a sieve, made of *taquara*.

A quantity of this sifted clay is then either put in a large wooden bowl (*gamela*) or dumped onto a wide board. Water is added, little by little, and the mass is kneaded like dough for bread, until it has the necessary consistency. Portions are then

detached from the larger mass and rolled into cylinders about three-fourths of an inch thick and 15 to 30 inches long. The first cylinder is coiled flat on the board, each successive coil touching the one previously laid down, until the whole reaches the size desired for the base of the vessel. As each coil is laid down, Dona Maria works it with her fingers until it is attached firmly to the other coils already in place.

The coiling of these cylinders one against the other is then continued upward to form the sides and top of the vessel, so that the complete outline eventually emerges in rough form. A corncob, the rough outer portion of which has been burned off, is used to smooth out the larger irregularities, after which the vessel is further smoothed with a piece of gourd. The newly formed vessel is then left to dry naturally, a process which usually takes from one to two days, subsequent to which it is put in the kiln, along with other vessels, and baked.

To construct the kiln (*forno*), advantage has been taken of the differences in level provided by a nearby bank of earth. An excavation a little over 3 feet in diameter and extending down about 15 inches, has been dug in the bank. From the floor of this excavation, six round holes, each about 4 inches in diameter, have been dug down about 12 inches further into the bank. One of these holes is centrally located and the other five are disposed at equal distances about it, all being separated by enough dirt to avoid cave-ins. This constitutes the upper portion of the oven.

Below this portion, an opening around 15 inches high by an equal distance wide has been cut horizontally back into the bank. Immediately beneath the six holes, the opening has then been widened out until it is oval in form. This constitutes the chamber in which fuel is burned.

As indicated, approximately 30 vessels are baked at one time. These are placed so as not to interfere with the free circulation of air through any one of the six holes, after which the vessels are completely covered over with pieces of broken pottery. A fire is then lighted in the lower chamber and fuel added slowly so as to increase the heat gradually and thus avoid cracking any of the vessels. "When I can spit on them and the spit sizzles," says Dona Maria, "I know the clay is hot enough not to



break any more. I can then build up the fire as much as I like." Baking takes about half a day. Wood is used for fuel.

Although Dona Maria says she knows how to make "anything of clay," the vessels most commonly made are the *póte*, the *moringa*, the *cus-cuseiro*, and the *forno* (fig. 13). The *póte* and the *moringa* are used for holding water; the *cus-cuseiro* and *forno*, for cooking. The *póte* is a cylindrical vessel around 16 inches high. The mouth is about 8 inches in diameter and the lower

large skillet about 16 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep, except that in place of one long, slender handle there are two short thick handles, one on each side. Since all vessels are made "by rule of thumb," the measurements here given are not standard but merely approximate the general average.

A *cus-cuseiro* was recently sold for 6 *cruzeiros* (32.6 cents). There is, however, no fixed price. Said an informant, "*É conforme a cara do freguês*" (It depends on the face of the customer).

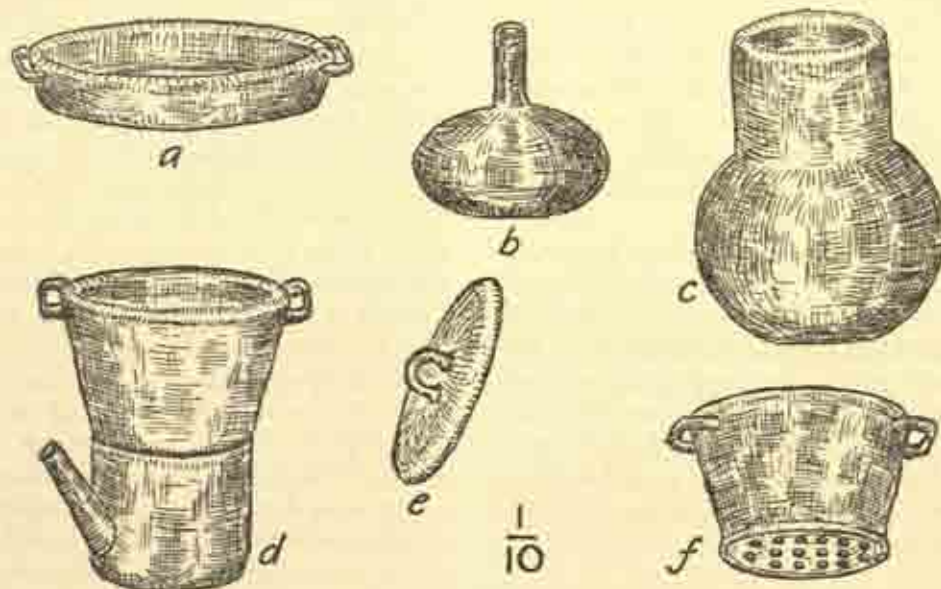


FIGURE 13.—Local pottery. *a*, *Forno*, used as a pan in cooking. *b*, *Moringa*, and *c*, *póte*, each used to hold water. *d-f*, *Cuscuseiro*, or vessel in which food is cooked by steam, showing the lid and cross section of detached upper part.

portion about 12 inches at the widest point. The *moringa* is a similar but smaller vessel, about 10 inches high, with a narrow neck only an inch and a half in diameter. The enlarged lower portion measures about 10 inches in diameter at the widest point. The *cus-cuseiro* is a vessel in which food is cooked by steam, made in one piece, about 12 inches high, with a spout attached to the lower part. It looks something like a bucket with flaring sides, cemented on top of a sprinkling can which has lost the nozzle off the spout. The upper and lower parts are separated by a layer of clay, perforated in several places to permit steam to rise into the upper part. The spout is used to remove the water from the lower section. Two small, thick handles are attached to the upper part, and there is a lid. The *forno* resembles a

#### THE ARAPUCA

The *arapuca*, or trap for catching birds, is used especially for the smaller species, although at times larger birds, like the *jacú*, are taken in it, and even small animals. It is made of *taquara*, bamboo, or similar wood. One that was observed in use had the form of a rough pyramid which was about 15 by 20 inches at the base and 10 inches high. To make it, strips of *taquara*, ranging from about 6 to 20 inches in length, are first cut. Two of the longer strips are then taken and linked together at their extremities with a piece of *cipó*, the length of which varies with the height desired in the finished trap but which in the one observed was around 2½ feet. The rectangle thus formed is twisted to make an X. The split pieces of *taquara* are then superimposed on each pair of sides alternately,



beginning with the longer pieces, in such a way that there eventually emerges a small pyramid whose sides are tightly held in place by the torsion exerted by the *cipó*. If the *cipó* is not tight by the time the last piece of *taguara* is inserted, it is twisted until the pyramid becomes a firm, solid structure.

A cleared spot called the *oéva*, is then prepared in a promising place in a patch of timber, and food, such as rice, maize meal, or *quirera*,<sup>100</sup> is periodically placed upon it to attract game. When the latter has become accustomed to finding food in this spot, the *arapuca* is taken and left a few days for the game to become familiar with it, after which it is set. One end is raised off the ground several inches and held in uneasy suspension on the top of a short stick which is tied to one or two other sticks planted upright in the ground. A twig is then inserted on the inside, close to the ground, and at right angles to these uprights. It is held in place by the slight pressure of the *arapuca* on the first stick mentioned. The slightest jar will cause this twig to fall. Two additional sticks are then laid at right angles to the uprights, one end of each resting on the twig and the other end inside the trap, so that any disturbance of these ends made by a bird or animal stepping on or brushing against them, will dislodge the twig from its lightly held position and drop the trap.

#### GRINDING MAIZE

The crushing of maize in the *pillão* or the *mon-jolo*, as has been indicated, is largely a matter of the past, although both means are still used on occasion for small amounts. Most of this work is now done by two mills, located on adjoining farms, which use water power and combine ancient techniques with modern machinery. One of these mills has been in operation 8 years in the same location and the other 9 years, 2 of them in the present location. Most farmers in the community now take their maize to these mills to be ground.

At one of the mills, water is diverted from a nearby creek by way of a narrow canal and made to fall upon a wooden water wheel about 7 feet in diameter and 30 inches wide, set in a depression below the level of the canal. The axle attached to this wooden wheel is of iron and is

supported on bricks. One end of the axle passes through a wall into a shelter where it is attached to an iron wheel that drives a belt. The latter in turn drives another and central axle which is attached by other belts to each of three different mechanisms for crushing and grinding maize.

The first of these mechanisms is composed of two flat stones (*mós*), each about 28 inches in diameter and a little over 4 inches thick, laid horizontally one on top of the other. The upper stone is set to rotate while the lower remains fixed. Above and a little to one side is a wooden funnel about 2 feet square at the opening and tapering to 6 inches square at the base to which is attached a wooden trough about 12 inches long and 6 inches wide. A short board swinging loosely on a nail driven into the funnel rests lightly on top of the upper stone as it rotates and thus transmits to the funnel some of the vibration of the mechanism. When maize is dumped into the funnel, the vibration transmitted by way of the board shakes the maize into and through the trough so that it falls, little by little, into a hole cut in the center of the upper stone and thence into the narrow space between the two *mós* where it is ground to a coarse meal (*fubá*). It then falls through a rectangular wooden trough into a large box below.

The second mechanism, the *cangiqueiro*, is employed in the preparation of *farinha de milho*, or maize flour somewhat coarser than that used in the United States. After being washed in a cement tank outside the shelter, the maize is placed in a wooden funnel similar to that used with the *mós*, whence it is shaken little by little down into a machine (of national manufacture) whose internal parts rip off the hull and tear out the germ. The broken parts then fall onto a continuously agitated sieve through which the finer particles drop onto a second sieve, while the larger particles, or that portion of the kernel minus the hull and the germ, is shaken out to one side into a wooden trough whence it falls into a second box. These larger particles are called *cangica*. Through the second and finer sieve, the hulls (*farelo*) drop into a wooden box while the *quirera*, or the germ and what clings to it, is shaken off to one side into a wooden trough and thence into a third receptacle.

The *farelo* and *quirera* are used as feed for domestic animals and fowls and have a ready sale. The *cangica* is turned into *farinha de milho*. It

<sup>100</sup> See Grinding Maize, below.



is first placed in the cement tank mentioned above, covered with water and left 3 days to soak and ferment. It is then dumped into a second partition of the tank, carefully washed and left to dry, after which it is carried to a second set of stones similar to those used to make *fubá* except that these stones are set vertically, where it is ground into a coarse flour. The latter is then taken to the *forno* for toasting.

The *forno* is a rectangular sheet of metal about 3 by 7 feet, under which is a brick firebox closed on all sides except for a narrow opening in the front through which fuel is inserted. The ground *cangica* is spread thinly over this metal sheet and the heat, which is maintained at a relatively constant temperature, toasts the coarse flour until the whole forms a large, thin, consistent flake, called locally *bijú*. When sufficiently toasted, the flake is broken up with a small roll of cloth and the *farinha de milho* removed and sacked. A high degree of skill obviously is required in this process, especially in controlling the heat and the time of exposure to it, so as to toast the flour adequately but not too much. Wood is used for fuel. The capacity of this mill is from 10 to 12 sacks of maize a day, each sack being of 60 kilos (132 pounds).

The second installation of a similar character is located on an adjoining farm, not over 600 yards distant. It also is run by water power, the source of the water being the same creek. The installations, however, are more recent, considerably larger and more modern. There are no *mós*; in their place is a modern machine. The water wheel is of wood, about 13 feet in diameter and 20 inches wide. The shelter is of brick covered with *reboque* and stands about 20 feet high. The roof is of tile. The interior is approximately three times that of the first installation and is divided into two parts. In one of these, which measures about 30 by 16 feet, is the *forno* for toasting *farinha de milho*, and in the other, which measures about 40 by 30 feet, are modern machines for grinding maize meal and making and grinding *cangica*, as well as a machine for shredding fodder for cattle feed. All of the machinery is of national manufacture, except that for shredding fodder, which was made by a United States company. The farmer who runs this mill set it up himself. The water wheel was

purchased in a town about 30 miles to the south of the community.

At each of the mills, maize is ground and turned into *farinha de milho* in exchange for the *farelo* and *quirera*, plus Cr.\$4.50 (about 24 cents) for each 40 kilos (88 pounds) of maize. This quantity produces about 20 kilos (44 pounds) of toasted maize flour. To the maize available locally for grinding are sometimes added quantities shipped in from the neighboring State of Paraná to the closest point on the rail line and thence trucked to the mills. The several products are also sold outside the community.

#### SUGAR MAKING

On an occasional farm which is still relatively self-sufficient, sugar is made for home use and, at times, for sale. On one such farm, cane is run through a simple press turned by animal power (pl. 15, a) and the juice (*garapa*) thus extracted is carried in buckets and put in a large copper kettle about 3 feet deep and 3 feet in diameter. A fire is built underneath and the juice left to boil for about 4 hours, or until the quantity is considerably reduced and the liquid has become a thin sirup. The impurities which rise to the surface as the boiling proceeds are removed with a metal skimmer which is about 8 inches wide and has a long wooden handle.

The sirup is then put in an iron drum and the copper kettle refilled. When all the juice has been boiled, the sirup is withdrawn from the drum and carried to the *tacho*, a large copper pan about 10 inches deep and 2 feet in diameter, where it is again boiled, with constant stirring, until it is about to crystallize into sugar. This process ordinarily takes approximately an hour.

Before the mass cools, it is poured into a wooden mold where it is left to solidify into *pães de rapadura* or, literally, "loaves of brown sugar." This mold consists of a flat box about 3 inches high and open at the top. It is divided into small compartments whose size and number vary with the size desired in the final product:  $\frac{1}{4}$  kilo,  $\frac{1}{2}$  kilo, or 1 kilo.

The farmer says that approximately 200 kilos (440 pounds) of *rapadura* are obtained from each kettle of cane sirup. He also estimates that his equipment, were it in continuous production, would turn out around 1,000 kilos (2,200 pounds)



of *rapadura* per month. The supply of cane on his and neighboring farms, however, does not make possible such large-scale operation.

*Cidra* also is made on this farm. It is prepared by adding the pulp of the *cidra* fruit, a species of citron, to cane sirup before the final boiling. The *cidra* is grated on a heavy stone wheel, about 3 feet in diameter, which is turned by hand. The mass is then put in a *tipiti*<sup>126</sup> and the juice expelled. The *tipiti* is a flexible, oval-shaped basket, about 15 inches in diameter and 10 inches deep, made of *sapé*. At the upper rim, the ends of the *sapé* have been left loose to afford hand holds for pulling and twisting the basket to press out through its openings the excess liquid (pl. 12, e). The *cidra* pulp is then added to an approximately equal quantity of cane sirup and boiled until the whole is about to crystallize. It is then poured into small molds and left to cool, subsequent to which the cakes are wrapped in dry corn husks for selling as a confection.

#### BRICKMAKING

There are in the community two *olarias*, or small establishments for making brick. Only one of these is functioning at present and it began operations within the past year. Work is intermittent, depending upon local needs or requests from neighboring communities.

The *olaria* is located near a plentiful supply of clay. The upper 8 inches or so of topsoil are first scraped away because of their organic-matter content. The clay is then dug out with an *enxada* and shoveled into a *caçamba*,<sup>127</sup> in which it is hauled about 60 yards to the *picador*. The *picador* is a pit dug in the ground, about 5 feet deep, 6½ feet long, and 4 feet wide, the sides of which are then lined with boards. To fill it, approximately 15 trips must be made with the *caçamba*.

If the clay, as the local phrase has it, is "very strong," it is mixed with a small quantity of sand or, if "weak," with other clay which is "stronger." The sand is brought from *Cruz Preta*, a point about 4 miles away which is named, like the road itself, for a large cross, made of dark-colored wood, standing by the roadside. Water brought to the *picador* by way of a bamboo aqueduct from a nearby slough is then added, and the mass turned and

stirred with an *enxada* and a shovel, by a man working in the pit, until it has the proper consistency. This process is "by rule of thumb" and requires considerable skill and experience.

After being left to stand until the following day, this viscous mass is taken out of the *picador* and shoveled into the *pipa* which stands alongside. The *pipa* is a wooden barrel about 5 feet high and 3 feet in diameter to whose upper part has been clamped a vertical axle which turns 13 iron paddles, each about 5 inches wide and 12 inches long, inside the barrel. The axle is made to revolve by means of a pole about 12 feet long and 10 inches in diameter, called the *manjarra*, which is pulled round and round by two mules or burros. When the *pipa* has been filled, the animals are set to work at the *manjarra* and the mass is thus thoroughly mixed and passes, little by little, out a hole about 12 inches square, cut into the lower part of the *pipa*.

With a *bodoque*, a girl then cuts and scoops up chunks of this well-mixed clay and lays them on a wheelbarrow. The *bodoque* is a piece of wood about an inch and a quarter wide which, after being bent to form a semicircle, is held fast by a taut wire about 16 inches long. The wire cuts through the clay and enables it to be picked up in small amounts to facilitate handling. The chunks are then hauled a few yards and dumped on the ground near a wooden bench, called the *banca*, where a man picks up the clay with his hands and places it in a wooden mold, about 2 feet long. The mold has two separate compartments, each the size and form of the desired brick. They have been lightly sanded so that the clay will not stick to the form but come away easily. When the mold has been filled, the excess clay is cut away with a second and smaller *bodoque* and the mold is carried and upended onto the ground at a convenient spot (pl. 8, b), so that the two newly formed bricks drop out alongside the other bricks molded that day, all of which are then left to dry for 24 hours.

The bricks subsequently are stacked in long rows about 5 feet high, called *gambetas*, and tiles are laid over each row so that the bricks are protected sufficiently to withstand an ordinary rain. They are left here from 3 days to a week, depending on the weather and the consequent rate of drying, after which they are hauled to a nearby shelter for storing or taken directly to the kiln.

<sup>126</sup> On this farm, the word is pronounced *topiti*.

<sup>127</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 52.



The capacity of the kiln is 22,000 bricks (pl. 8, *d*). The sides are of brick, without *reboque*, and are 16 feet long and some 20 feet high. The roof is of tile and is raised somewhat above the walls to aid the circulation of air. In the lower portion of the front wall, three spaces, each about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, have been left open, through which to put fuel. In a side wall, a door about 6 by 3 feet has been made through which to carry in the newly formed bricks. Starting with the opening in the front wall which is farthest from the door, bricks are laid, side by side, in two long parallel rows, one to each side of the opening, the entire length of the building. On top of each of these two rows, bricks are then laid at right angles until the first layer is entirely covered. In each row, however, this second layer is allowed to overlap a bit in the direction of the other row so that as additional layers are added, each new layer also overlapping a little the one below, the two parallel rows gradually approach and finally come together to form a long narrow tunnel which runs the entire length of the building, from the opening in the front wall to the back wall. When a fire is started just inside the opening, the heat will flow readily along this tunnel and thence to the rest of the kiln. As was done in the case of the second layer, the bricks in each succeeding layer have been set at right angles to the bricks immediately beneath. Since the bricks have been roughly made, they in no case fit tightly together; and, as they dry, they shrink somewhat, so that still larger spaces begin to appear between the bricks and the heat is thus able to pass more readily around them. Similar tunnels are then laid from each of the other two openings, after which the remaining bricks are stacked over and around the three tunnels until the kiln is full. The main opening is then sealed up with mud and brick, and fires are started and kept burning for 48 hours. The fuel is wood, and approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cubic meters are used per 1,000 bricks.

The bricks are subsequently left in the kiln to cool for a week to 10 days. Those on the bottom nearest the fire are "better baked" and sell for a higher price since "they are impervious to water and can be used for wells and similar purposes." At present, these bricks are being sold at 350 *crusceiros* (\$19) a thousand and the other bricks at 250 *crusceiros* (\$13.60) a thousand.

#### DISTILLATION OF "PINGA"

Most of the *pinga* consumed is imported from outside the community. Two farms are equipped with the necessary apparatus for its manufacture in considerable quantity, but on only one farm, or that on which is located the *casa grande*, or large house referred to above,<sup>12</sup> is *pinga* now being made and then only periodically. There are no small, private stills.

On this farm, falling water furnishes the power to crush the cane. From a nearby brook, water is led off by way of a shallow ditch into a long, wooden trough about 15 inches wide and 15 inches deep. At the point of junction with the trough, a simple means of control known as the *ladrão* (thief) has been set up. It consists of a wooden plank about 20 inches square, set vertically in wooden grooves. When this plank is removed, the water flows into the trough; when it is in place, the water is diverted to one side, whence it eventually finds its way back to the brook at a point farther down. When released into the wooden trough, the water flows with some force about 75 feet to the *engenho*, or mill for crushing the cane.

At this point, advantage has been taken of an abrupt depression in the earth's surface to set up the mill. The cane press is of iron and factory-made. It consists of a cog wheel about 20 inches in diameter which turns an axle that turns three heavy iron cylinders, each about 20 inches long and 10 inches in diameter, set up horizontally on four iron legs. Over the press and the pile of cane lying near it is a rude shelter which is open on all sides except the rear, where a wall, made of *taipa* has been erected. The roof is of tile, about 10 feet wide by 25 feet long, and slopes steeply from back to front.

At the side of the mill, the water falls from the trough onto the cleats of a heavy wooden wheel which revolves on its iron axle and turns the cog-wheel mentioned above. The water wheel is about 12 feet in diameter and 20 inches wide, and the cleats are placed every 10 inches or so around its circumference. Some 15 feet before it reaches the water wheel, the water passes a second *ladrão*, consisting of a trap door in the bed of the trough which can be opened to divert any water which may have escaped the control above, and thus force

<sup>12</sup> See Dwellings and Furnishings, p. 42.



the water wheel, when desired, to come to a complete stop.

The cane is fed by hand into the press. The juice (*garapa*) falls into a wooden trough about 4 inches square which carries it some 60 feet or more, where it falls into a large wooden tank (*quartola*), placed inside the large farmhouse. The crushed stalks (*bagaco*) are dropped beside the press until a considerable pile has accumulated and are then removed by hand.

When the operator is ready to turn the *garapa* into *pinga*, he dips the juice out of the wooden tank with a bucket and carries it to the *damas*, or large wooden vats, where he adds maize mash (*fermento de milho*) to the juice and leaves it to ferment. The degree of fermentation is measured by an instrument called the *décimo*. When it registers 15, which is ordinarily about 24 hours later, the fermented juice is dipped out of the *damas* and taken in buckets to the *alambique*.

The *alambique* is a round copper vessel entirely enclosed, about 5 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. From the upper part, an inverted funnel leads off and terminates in a copper coil which subsequently passes 10 times around the inside of the nearby *resfriadeira*, or condenser, a cylindrical tank, out of which it eventually protrudes in the form of a small spout. The condenser is made of cement and is about 3 feet in diameter and 8 feet high. Water is brought to it from about 60 feet away by means of a long wooden trough around 12 inches square which leads off the trough previously referred to.

When the fermented juice has been placed in the *alambique*, the latter is closed off tightly and a fire is lighted in a firebox below. The latter is of brick and measures about 6½ feet wide by an equal distance long and high. About 3 hours after the fermented juice commences to boil, vapor begins to enter the coils and to pass through the condenser and be precipitated as *pinga*. The liquid is then carried in small buckets and dumped into huge vats, each with a capacity of from 2,000 to 3,000 liters, or approximately 450 to 675 gallons, where it is left to "rest" several days, subsequent to which it is placed in large barrels and trucked directly to São Paulo, where it is sold at wholesale.

The still is able to handle daily about 250 gallons of cane juice which ordinarily produce around 30

gallons of *pinga*. During the month (February) in which this farm was visited, however, and also the previous month, the still had been in operation only part time, owing to a lack of both cane and water.

#### MAKING OF CHARCOAL

With the disappearance of the forest which once covered a considerable part of this region, the making of charcoal, formerly an important occupation, has declined until today it is rare to find anyone occupied with this task. An exception is a man working at present in the dense growth along the left bank of the Tietê River.

Timber is felled with an ax, a few square yards at a time, and a fire is set to consume the leaves, small twigs, and undergrowth and "to dry out the branches and logs enough for making charcoal." The wood is then chopped and split into pieces about 4½ to 5 feet long and not over 8 inches thick, for ready handling in the *caieira*.

To build a *caieira*, a space near the fallen timber, about 15 feet in diameter is first cleared and leveled. This is known as the *praga* (square). In the center of this cleared spot, sticks of wood are stood on end to form a rough cone. Rows of other sticks are placed around them until there is piled up "as much as the charcoal-maker has courage to tackle." Loose, dry dirt is then thrown over the pile to form a small mound, called the *balão* (balloon), like that to be seen in plate 8, c. Kindling, in the form of leaves and dry, soft, fibrous twigs, are then thrust in at the apex of the mound and set afire. When the fire has begun to burn well, the opening is covered over and a hole is made at the bottom of the mound to admit air and thus draw the fire slowly downward.

About a day later, when smoke no longer finds its way out and the wood is therefore known to be "well cooked," more dirt is piled on the mound and the wood is left to smolder for 3 more days. The dirt is then thrown to one side and the charcoal is taken out and sacked. The tools used in the entire process from timber to charcoal are only four: the ax, the *foice*, the shovel, and a wooden rake, with tines about 9 inches long.

A second process, in which a *forno* is substituted for the *caieira*, is also employed. A *forno* is made by digging a round pit about 6 feet deep and 9 to 10 feet in diameter. Advantage is taken of a sharp variation in ground level to cut a short trench



about 3 feet wide from the bottom of this excavation out to a spot where the charcoal maker can work on the same level as the pit floor. The pit is then roofed over with brick in the form of a dome. On the side immediately opposite the trench, an opening about 12 inches square, called the "chimney," is dug into the wall of the pit, from the bottom up to the top. Midway on each of the other two sides, at the top of the pit, small holes about 8 inches in diameter, called *baianas*, are cut.

Sticks of wood, beginning with the smaller pieces and ending with the larger, are then stood up around the sides of the *forno*, until it is filled, when a fire is set at the "door" by the trench. As soon as the fire is burning well, the "door" is closed with dirt and sealed completely by applying puddled earth to all spots where air might get in. By opening and closing the "chimney" and the "*baianas*," the amount of air to enter the *forno* is regulated, and combustion, or "cooking" as it is locally called, is thus controlled and forced to proceed slowly. When smoke no longer escapes from the *forno*, all outlets are closed off completely and the contents are left to smolder 3 more days, after which the *forno* is opened and the newly prepared charcoal removed with the aid of a wooden rake and sacked.

#### LUMBER

There is a small sawmill in the community, located on the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village. It is sheltered in a brick building, about 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 17 feet high. Mechanical power is taken off the turbine which also produces the electric power referred to elsewhere,<sup>13</sup> by means of a series of axles and belts, and made to operate either of two steel saws, one of which is rectangular and is set vertically and the other of which is circular. The former is a little over 3 feet long and the latter is about 20 inches in diameter. The machinery is placed underneath a board floor on which the sawing is done. Lumber of various sizes is produced from several different woods, including the *jacarandá*, *peroba*, *cedro*, *canela*, *passuarê*, *quatambá*, and *piúva*.

#### VENDAS

The village has three *vendas*, or stores in which a variety of wares are sold, including alcoholic

drinks. Villagers and farmers ordinarily purchase needed items like salt, sugar, kerosene, and matches at one of these stores. Farmers living near the margin of the community may also make part of their necessary purchases in whichever of the three towns they happen to be nearest: Boa Vista, Piracema, or Paratinga. Even those living near the village, as well as villagers, purchase in one of these towns most of their farm implements and kitchen utensils which are factory-made, as well as most of the cloth to make the family's clothes and those remedies which are used, in addition to native herbs and magical means, in the treatment of illness.

The *vendas* in the village, however, are more readily accessible, and essentially contribute to the community's subsistence. One *venda* is owned and operated by a village leader, a *cafuso* widely known and respected in the community; a second, by the son of the tax collector; and the third, by the only Japanese in the village, together with his wife and family. As has been indicated, there are also two *botequins* where alcoholic and other drinks are sold, one of which has an extensive stock and is much patronized. Bread is now sold each day at the village bakery (as well as also in the *vendas* and the *botequins*). A beef is butchered on Friday afternoon, and the meat which is not distributed on the spot is sold during the remainder of the day or that evening in a small shop which otherwise remains closed during the week.

The *vendas* are open each day from early in the morning until as late in the evening as there are customers, which, on weekdays, is about 8 or 8:30 o'clock. The *botequins*, especially the principal one, may stay open until an hour or so later. Recently, for a brief period, the *vendas* were closed on Sundays by an order from the seat of the *município*. This action was thought arbitrary by both farmers and villagers, and indignant protests were lodged. "Now I have to lose a whole day's work," complained a farmer, "to go to the village on Saturday, just because I can't buy what I need when I'm there on Sunday." After 4 weeks the order was rescinded and the *vendas* reopened with special licenses to operate on Sundays.

The stock of any one store, although varied, is not large. Available in each of the three stores, for example, in June 1948, were only the following articles:

<sup>13</sup> See Fuel and Light, p. 48.



Cast-iron pans	Kerosene
Candlesticks	Bluing
Drinking glasses	Sewing-machine oil
Brooms	Men's work shoes
Irons (charcoal burning) <sup>114</sup>	Men's socks (cotton)
Foodstuffs:	Hair ribbons
Beans (bulk)	Elastic
Rice	Handkerchiefs
Sugar	Brooches (plastic)
Salt	Nails
Pepper	<i>Facas de bainha</i> (sheath knives)
Lard	Alcoholic drinks:
<i>Rapadura</i> (bricks of crude brown sugar)	<i>Pingu</i>
Coffee	Beer
Codfish	Wine
Maize	Cognac
Onions	Vermouth
Olives	Face powder
Baking powder	Disinfectant (Creosote)
Vinegar	Insecticide (D. D. T.)
Tomato extract	

When, however, the stock in one of these stores is added to that in the others, the combined stocks become much more extensive. Available at this time in at least one of the three stores, in addition to the items listed above, were the following articles:

Kitchen utensils:	Other household equipment and supplies—Con.
Kettles (enamel, aluminum)	Chamber pots (enamel)
Pans (enamel, aluminum)	Matches
Skillets	Gasoline (occasionally)
Wash basins (tin, aluminum)	Soap
Ladles (tin, aluminum)	Sapallo
Skimmers (tin)	Foodstuffs:
Graters (tin, aluminum)	Potatoes
Other household equipment and supplies:	Macaroni
Table knives, forks	Maize flour
Plates (aluminum, china)	Bread
Cups (aluminum, china)	Condensed milk
Saucers (china)	<i>Mortadela</i> (large sausage)
Candles	Vegetable oil
<i>Lamparinas</i> <sup>115</sup>	Garlic
Scissors	Canned fish:
	Sardines
	Catfish
	<i>Corvina</i>
	<i>Tainha</i>
	<i>Sacelha</i> <sup>116</sup>
	Oat meal

Foodstuffs—Continued	Hardware:
Canned peas	Axes
Canned pears	Iron rings (for harness)
Canned papaya	Locks
Canned oranges	Rope
Cocconut milk	Medical supplies:
Toddy	Quinine
Cookies	Medicinal alcohol
Confections: <sup>117</sup>	School supplies:
Peanut brittle	Pencils
<i>Maria mole</i>	Pens
<i>Cocada</i> (black, white)	Ink
<i>Doce de abóbora</i>	Erasers
<i>Doce de leite</i>	Rulers
Guava paste	Notebooks
Quince paste	Satchels (imitation leather)
Banana paste	Toilet articles:
<i>Balas</i> (a hard candy)	Perfume
Clothing and personal effects:	Toilet soap
Women's shoes (one pair seen)	Combs
<i>Alpargatas</i> (rope-soled, canvas shoes)	Looking glasses
<i>Tamancos</i> (wooden-soled shoes with leather or cloth toe)	Hair oil
Sandals	Tooth brushes
Slippers	Tooth paste
<i>Chateiras</i> (shoes for soccer)	Rouge
Women's stockings (cotton)	Miscellaneous:
Straw hats (for women and children)	Chewing tobacco
Men's belts (plastic)	Cigarettes
Men's suspenders (plastic)	Fireworks
Women's belts (plastic)	<i>Chapeas</i> ("pacifiers")
Cotton cloth	Fishhooks
Buttons	Fishlines
Shoe strings	Strings for <i>violão</i> , <i>viola</i> , <i>cavaquinho</i> <sup>118</sup>
Small chain, with cross	Folding rulers
Small chain, with <i>figa</i> <sup>119</sup>	Insecticide (potassium cyanide)
Clothes hangers (wood)	Chewing gum (Chile-lots)
	Bird seed
	Bibelois (clay statuettes)
	Dyes

Price information on most items would be of little value, since turn-over is limited, some articles remaining on hand for months or even years before being sold. The items listed in the table

<sup>114</sup> See figure 5.

<sup>115</sup> Small lamps, made of tin or glass.

<sup>116</sup> The *corvina* (Scombridae), the *tainha* (*Mugil platensis*), and the *sacelha* (*Brevoortia tyrannus*) are all sea fish, native to the Brazilian coast.

<sup>117</sup> *Maria mole* is made of egg whites, sugar, and milk. *Cocada* and *doce de leite* are described elsewhere (see Food and Food Habits, p. 37).

<sup>118</sup> An image, often made from wood, of a fist with the thumb inserted between the index and middle fingers, and worn as a means of protection from the "evil eye."

<sup>119</sup> A small viola.



below, however, are purchased with regularity by families in the village and surrounding area. Even though certain of the food items are grown by several villages, as well as most farmers, crops in many cases are insufficient for the family's consumption during the entire year. The prices, at 6-month intervals in 1948, of the staples most purchased at village stores were as given in table 11.

TABLE 11.—Prices of articles most often purchased at stores, village of Cruz das Almas, 1948

Article	Price (in cruzeiros per kilo.) <sup>1</sup>	
	January	July
Sugar	3.35	3.35
Coffee	12.00	11.00
Lard	21.00	21.00
Salt <sup>2</sup>	1.00	1.00
Beans	5.00	5.00
Rice	5.50	5.50
Maize flour	4.00	3.50
Potatoes	2.50	3.00
Onions	2.50	3.50
Wheat bread <sup>3</sup>	5.00	7.00
Matches (10 small boxes)	2.40	3.00
Kerosene (liter)	1.90	1.90
Laundry soap (bar)	2.50	2.70
Bread (loaf)	13.00	13.00

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise specified.

<sup>2</sup> Of inferior quality.

<sup>3</sup> During the period in which there was a scarcity of wheat flour in Brazil, fine and medium flour were added in various quantities. This was true in January, but not in July, of 1948.

Sales are made for cash or on credit. The latter system is described in the section on Money, Credit, and Wages (p. 97). Transactions usually are carried on under conditions of primary contact, as described in the section on Making Purchases. A villager or farmer tends to trade consistently with one storekeeper, although on occasion he may buy from the others.

Even more than the church, the *vendas* are a means of contact with the world outside the family and immediate neighbors, being one of the principal points in the village at which groups of conversation habitually form. (See Conversation Groups, p. 112.)

#### TRANSPORTATION

Many farmers and their families walk into the village when they attend Mass and other religious or secular ceremonies, or wish to make purchases at a store or to visit friends. Some of these journeys on foot are made from as far away as 10 or 12 miles. Men and boys, but rarely women or girls,

occasionally ride in on a horse, mule, or burro, especially if they live a long way out and granted of course the family possesses one or more of these animals. The owner of the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village has had a truck for some time. Two men in the village, one of whom is engaged in hauling firewood from this farm to the railway and the other of whom works at the preparations for quarrying, each purchased trucks about 3 years ago, as also did one of the storekeepers during the past year.

Of 17 farms visited, the occupants of 6 say they always come to the village on foot; of 7, either on foot or on horseback; and of 4, either on foot, on horseback, or in a *charrete*. If the men ride in on horseback, sometimes with the children, the women usually walk (pl. 14, a) or remain at home.

A count of the means of transportation which was observed in the village on 4 consecutive days<sup>4</sup> gave the following result:

	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Horses	8	12	14	15
Mules	—	7	9	7
Burros	1	1	1	1
Oxen	*4	—	—	*4
Trucks	1	1	1	1

\* A team.

The principal means for transporting heavy objects, as has been indicated, used to be the pack train and the oxcart. A farm woman recalls vividly an experience a few years ago when her household equipment was being transported over rather primitive roads from one farm to another within the community. "When we moved to this farm," she says, "we brought all our things in an oxcart. While we were crossing an *aterrado*,<sup>5</sup> part of it gave way and the cart tipped over. The glass doors of my cupboard were broken. Only one saucer escaped out of six and all the cups were smashed. The handles broke on the sugar bowl I'm still using. My pretty little salt dish was all in pieces. Just about everything we had either got broken or cracked in some way."

With the introduction of the truck about 20 years ago, however, these means of transport began to disappear. There are only two oxcarts at present in and about the village, although a few

<sup>4</sup> In June, 1948. The same truck was seen on each of the different days, as also were several of the animals.

<sup>5</sup> A small culvert, made of logs and earth.



other farmers, each of whom lives in a quite isolated part of the community several miles away, still use this means of transportation. The pack train is now no longer to be seen. Produce, as has been indicated, may be carried in from the field by the farmer himself, or in *jacás* on the backs of horses, mules, or burros. The *carrinho*, which used to be pulled by goats to transport light articles, occasionally is still to be seen, pulled by hand (pl. 13, f).

A man in the village, 59 years old, vividly remembers the transition from pack train and oxcart to truck. He said:

From 1908 to 1927 I had a mule train here in the village. There were 10 mules. I drove them down to São José dos Patos and back and up to Piracema and back. I charged only 1 *milreis*, 200 *reis* a mule on the way over and 1 *milreis* back. Each mule carried 120 kilos. Once, when I was driving the train, I fell asleep on the back of a mule, I was so tired. I fell off on the ground and my companions laughed at me, but I got up and said it wasn't anything. The mules carried beans, maize, and potatoes. You should have seen how much went out of here in those days. It was a great life. É-ó-ó! There was a lot of everything!

Then, in 1927, the first truck appeared in these parts. Tomé (a farmer) bought it. He'd carry 25 sacks into São Paulo at 3 *milreis* a sack; on one trip alone, he'd make 75 *milreis*. A little later, the father of Bigodinho bought a truck and soon another man got one. Things changed a lot, then. The drivers of pack trains like myself, Gino, Chicão, and the father of Oracy and others who had earned their living driving mules, soon went out of business. And the oxcarts also began to disappear; first those with solid wheels, then the other kind. The bread man quit coming, too. I remember him well. He came from Boa Vista with two mules loaded with bread. He'd stop at the farm and sell us some and take in return eggs and chickens. He used to go all over the country selling his bread. Up to Piracema and far along the road to Itá.

The old road to Paratinga has become so overgrown with grass and weeds that traveling over it in recent years has been quite difficult for other than horsemen and oxcarts and, since May of 1948, when one of the log-and-earth culverts fell in, impossible. Work on the dirt road to Piracema, previously little more than a trail for oxcarts, which extended from March to October of 1946, materially improved this outlet to the outside world. In rainy weather, however, the steeper slopes are still quite difficult for loaded trucks to climb. The dirt road to Boa Vista, which is the most adequate in the community, recently has been

improved so that now it is readily traversable by motor vehicle except following a heavy rain, when slippery mud on steep hills sometimes makes traction almost impossible for heavy trucks. Other roads in the community are merely trails which branch off in different directions to reach the various farmhouses (pl. 1, c). In dry weather, however, they are traveled readily even by trucks. In places, all the old, unworked roads and trails run through cuts up to 10 feet deep, where the travel and erosion of many decades have cut the roadbed down below the level of the land on either side (pl. 1, f).

At São José dos Patos, one can take the train for São Paulo three times a day, once in the morning and twice in the afternoon. The ride into the city takes a little more than an hour. There is also a train in the other direction, to Sorocaba and cities farther to the west, once each morning and twice in the afternoon. If one goes to Boa Vista, a few miles further away on the rail line, he can take still other trains which do not stop at São José dos Patos. A bus line which offers transportation daily on a usually packed bus, each way from São Paulo to Itá, as has been indicated, passes through Piracema, 7 miles to the northeast of the village. Another bus line which offers daily transportation each way from São Paulo to Sorocaba, passes through Boa Vista, 11 miles to the south of the village. A plane from São Paulo to Curitiba flies over the area daily. Although no person in the community has yet been in an airplane, all the inhabitants are now familiar with the sight of one passing overhead. Its passage, however, especially at night, still continues to attract considerable attention.

The relative recency of these new means of transport is reflected in the attitudes of certain residents, especially among the older generation, living in the more isolated parts of the community. As an airplane passed overhead, for instance, a farm woman remarked:

They make such a noise. *Credo!* I'll never get in one! They go above the clouds. Even at night. They say they sometimes have accidents. The train also scares a person to pieces. They have wrecks and people die. I don't go anywhere except when I just have to. Even a truck is very dangerous. The roads are not safe, especially when it's raining. It gives you great fear. The last time I went, they used chains on the truck. I almost didn't stand it, I was so frightened."



At the time this study began, and for some time thereafter, researchers traveled to the village on horseback or in a *charrute* from the nearest station on the railway to the south. To travel the 9 miles of muddy road in rainy weather over steep hills took from 2 to 2½ hours. One could also continue on to the next stop on the rail line and from there, if fortunate, find a truck going over to the village or arrange a car at a high rental for the trip. At that time, there was no way to get to the village from the north unless one went by bus to Piracema and, by chance, found a truck going over from there. Remarkd a farm boy:

If you are like many people in the community and don't have a horse or a *charrute* when you have to travel, it's very difficult. You may be able to find someone who is going in a truck to São José dos Patos or Boa Vista; but when you want to come back, it may be raining and there is no truck to bring you. Either you have to walk in the mud or spend the night somewhere along the way. If you have a horse and you want to take a train, you have to put him in a pasture when you get to the railway. And then when you come back you have to go fetch him from the pasture and saddle him. It's a lot of trouble. What we've needed for a long time here is a bus line. No one in Boa Vista or Piracema takes any interest in putting in one because those towns already have their own. If we could go by bus, we wouldn't have all that bother we have now; all we'd have to do would be to arrange the money to pay for the ride. Some people don't think it would be so good, but most do; as for me, I think it would be a fine thing for this place.

Other local inhabitants for many years have felt the need to increase transportation facilities. Finally, at the initiative of a village leader who himself put up 20,000 *cruséis* and who convinced nine other persons to do likewise, some much-needed work was done on the road that runs through the village from Boa Vista on the south to Piracema on the northeast and, during the period while this study was in progress, a bus line was organized and two chassis purchased. The village leader is a former farmer, part-time carpenter, and present *sub-delegado*. The organization was called *Empresa Nossa Senhora da Penha* (Our Lady of Penha Enterprise), in honor of the principal *santo* in the village church. Unable to arrange in São Paulo, in the immediate future, the building of bodies for the chassis, due to heavy backlogs which had piled up during the war, the new company had them built in a town 120 miles to the north. The inauguration of the bus line was

of such importance that it was given ceremonial sanction. (See *Isolation and Contact*, p. 101.)

Passengers are carried and also farm produce, especially milk. Each morning farmers who sell milk leave their cans at the roadside to be loaded into the bus and delivered in Boa Vista. In the month of June 1948, according to one of the owners of the bus line, 7,444 liters of milk, from three farms, were delivered in Boa Vista. The charge is 20 *centavos* (about 1 cent) per liter, the bus line accepting no responsibility for loss on those days when heavy rain makes its operation impossible. "Around 350" liters of milk are carried daily to Piracema. An occasional basket of eggs or vegetables or a coop of chickens also are picked up.

The second bus is held in reserve for use in emergencies, should the first bus break down or travel become unusually heavy. It is also available for special occasions like that recently when pilgrims were carried to the shrine of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida in the northeastern corner of the State.

#### WEALTH AND PROPERTY

Wealth is almost entirely in such tangibles as land, houses, and other buildings, livestock, and personal belongings. The existence of stocks, bonds, insurance, and other intangible forms of wealth is unknown to a considerable portion of the inhabitants and so far as could be discovered no one in the community possesses these forms. A few farmers have money, usually in limited amounts, on deposit in the Boa Vista branch of the *Caixa Econômica*, an agency organized several years ago by the Federal Government, which pays 5 percent interest on deposits after 6 months, compounded semiannually. An occasional local inhabitant, including one of the village storekeepers, has purchased one or more *títulos de capitalização*. These are certificates issued by commercial firms in various amounts which pay various rates of interest and have the additional lure of being subject to a lottery drawing at stated periods, usually once a month, with sizable premiums.

Since neither silver nor gold coins have been in circulation in Brazil for many years, hoarding, if done, would have to be either in paper money, the depreciation of which is at present increasing, or in coins made of cheap alloys, which are almost equally valueless, so far as intrinsic worth is



concerned. One villager who owns several pieces of land is referred to by other villagers as a miser and is said to have money secreted about his house. Most villagers and farmers live too near the actual subsistence level to possess other than a meager supply of currency.

Land is the principal symbol of wealth and the desire to possess it is universal in the community. Of 15 *sítios* visited, 13 were owned by the occupant. Another farm was being rented from a relative who lives in the community. The remaining farm, composed of only 2.5 *alqueires* (15 acres), was being tended by a man given this privilege in return for overseeing the production of *pinga* at the *engenho* located on the farm. (See Distillation of *Pinga*, p. 89.) Of the 15 properties, 12 had been inherited by the present owner; <sup>102</sup> 3 had been purchased.

All the land in the community presumably is registered on the tax rolls. The official records kept in the capital of the State, list 381 separate pieces of property held by 355 owners. These properties total 9,088 hectares (22,456 acres). The largest has 2,152 acres and is the only property owned in the community by this taxpayer; the smallest has 0.38 of a hectare (0.93 of an acre) and similarly is the only property owned in the community by this taxpayer. The average holding is 24.2 hectares (59.8 acres); the mode is 9.7 hectares (24 acres). Of these properties, 310, or 81.3 per cent, consist of less than 60 acres each.

The total value of these properties as carried on the tax rolls is 5,239,290 *crúzeiros*, which is equivalent to about US\$14.19 per acre. All but six properties are owned by individuals. One of the six, a farm of 3,701 acres, is owned by the State government. Another is held by a corporation which expects to exploit mineral wealth.<sup>103</sup> The remaining four properties are owned by three firms, one of which is located in Boa Vista and the other two in São Paulo. The five of these properties which are privately owned total only 624 hectares (approximately 1,543 acres).

Since, then, according to the official records, there are in all, including both the properties owned by individuals and those owned by firms, only 23,989 acres in the *distrito*, and the population

totals 2,723, the average acreage per person is about 8.8. The distribution of properties by size of holding is given in table 12.

TABLE 12.—Number and size of landholdings, *distrito* of Cruz das Almas, 1943<sup>1</sup>

Size		Number	Percent
Hectares	Equivalent, in acres, of upper limit		
0-4	9.9	101	26.5
5-9	22.3	104	27.3
10-14	34.0	45	11.8
15-19	47.0	28	7.3
20-24	59.3	22	5.8
25-29	71.7	10	
30-34	84.0	7	
35-39	96.4	11	28.8
40-44	108.7	5	
45-49	121.1	8	
50-54	133.4	1	
55-59	145.8	0	
60-64	158.1	7	3.2
65-69	170.5	1	
70-74	182.9	3	
75-79	195.3	0	
80-84	207.6	3	
85-89	219.9	0	1.5
90-94	232.3	0	
95-99	244.6	3	
100	256.9	1	
101	269.0	2	
102	281.3	1	
103	293.6	1	
104	305.9	1	3.2
105	318.2	1	
106	330.5	1	
107	342.8	1	
108	355.1	1	
109	367.4	1	
110	379.7	1	
111	392.0	1	
112	404.3	1	
113	416.6	1	
114	428.9	1	
115	441.2	1	
116	453.5	1	
117	465.8	1	
118	478.1	1	
119	490.4	1	
120	502.7	1	
121	515.0	1	
122	527.3	1	
123	539.6	1	
124	551.9	1	
125	564.2	1	
126	576.5	1	
127	588.8	1	
128	601.1	1	
129	613.4	1	
130	625.7	1	
131	638.0	1	
132	650.3	1	
133	662.6	1	
134	674.9	1	
135	687.2	1	
136	699.5	1	
137	711.8	1	
138	724.1	1	
139	736.4	1	
140	748.7	1	
141	761.0	1	
142	773.3	1	
143	785.6	1	
144	797.9	1	
145	810.2	1	
146	822.5	1	
147	834.8	1	
148	847.1	1	
149	859.4	1	
150	871.7	1	
151	884.0	1	
152	896.3	1	
153	908.6	1	
154	920.9	1	
155	933.2	1	
156	945.5	1	
157	957.8	1	
158	970.1	1	
159	982.4	1	
160	994.7	1	
161	1,007.0	1	
162	1,019.3	1	
163	1,031.6	1	
164	1,043.9	1	
165	1,056.2	1	
166	1,068.5	1	
167	1,080.8	1	
168	1,093.1	1	
169	1,105.4	1	
170	1,117.7	1	
171	1,130.0	1	
172	1,142.3	1	
173	1,154.6	1	
174	1,166.9	1	
175	1,179.2	1	
176	1,191.5	1	
177	1,203.8	1	
178	1,216.1	1	
179	1,228.4	1	
180	1,240.7	1	
181	1,253.0	1	
182	1,265.3	1	
183	1,277.6	1	
184	1,289.9	1	
185	1,302.2	1	
186	1,314.5	1	
187	1,326.8	1	
188	1,339.1	1	
189	1,351.4	1	
190	1,363.7	1	
191	1,376.0	1	
192	1,388.3	1	
193	1,400.6	1	
194	1,412.9	1	
195	1,425.2	1	
196	1,437.5	1	
197	1,449.8	1	
198	1,462.1	1	
199	1,474.4	1	
200	1,486.7	1	
201	1,499.0	1	
202	1,511.3	1	
203	1,523.6	1	
204	1,535.9	1	
205	1,548.2	1	
206	1,560.5	1	
207	1,572.8	1	
208	1,585.1	1	
209	1,597.4	1	
210	1,609.7	1	
211	1,622.0	1	
212	1,634.3	1	
213	1,646.6	1	
214	1,658.9	1	
215	1,671.2	1	
216	1,683.5	1	
217	1,695.8	1	
218	1,708.1	1	
219	1,720.4	1	
220	1,732.7	1	
221	1,745.0	1	
222	1,757.3	1	
223	1,769.6	1	
224	1,781.9	1	
225	1,794.2	1	
226	1,806.5	1	
227	1,818.8	1	
228	1,831.1	1	
229	1,843.4	1	
230	1,855.7	1	
231	1,868.0	1	
232	1,880.3	1	
233	1,892.6	1	
234	1,904.9	1	
235	1,917.2	1	
236	1,929.5	1	
237	1,941.8	1	
238	1,954.1	1	
239	1,966.4	1	
240	1,978.7	1	
241	1,991.0	1	
242	2,003.3	1	
243	2,015.6	1	
244	2,027.9	1	
245	2,040.2	1	
246	2,052.5	1	
247	2,064.8	1	
248	2,077.1	1	
249	2,089.4	1	
250	2,101.7	1	
251	2,114.0	1	
252	2,126.3	1	
253	2,138.6	1	
254	2,150.9	1	
255	2,163.2	1	
256	2,175.5	1	
257	2,187.8	1	
258	2,200.1	1	
259	2,212.4	1	
260	2,224.7	1	
261	2,237.0	1	
262	2,249.3	1	
263	2,261.6	1	
264	2,273.9	1	
265	2,286.2	1	
266	2,298.5	1	
267	2,310.8	1	
268	2,323.1	1	
269	2,335.4	1	
270	2,347.7	1	
271	2,360.0	1	
272	2,372.3	1	
273	2,384.6	1	
274	2,396.9	1	
275	2,409.2	1	
276	2,421.5	1	
277	2,433.8	1	
278	2,446.1	1	
279	2,458.4	1	
280	2,470.7	1	
281	2,483.0	1	
282	2,495.3	1	
283	2,507.6	1	
284	2,519.9	1	
285	2,532.2	1	
286	2,544.5	1	
287	2,556.8	1	
288	2,569.1	1	
289	2,581.4	1	
290	2,593.7	1	
291	2,606.0	1	
292	2,618.3	1	
293	2,630.6	1	
294	2,642.9	1	
295	2,655.2	1	
296	2,667.5	1	
297	2,679.8	1	
298	2,692.1	1	
299	2,704.4	1	
300	2,716.7	1	
301	2,729.0	1	
302	2,741.3	1	
303	2,753.6	1	
304	2,765.9	1	
305	2,778.2	1	
306	2,790.5	1	
307	2,802.8	1	
308	2,815.1	1	
309	2,827.4	1	
310	2,839.7	1	
311	2,852.0	1	
312	2,864.3	1	
313	2,876.6	1	
314	2,888.9	1	
315	2,901.2	1	
316	2,913.5	1	
317	2,925.8	1	
318	2,938.1	1	
319	2,950.4	1	
320	2,962.7	1	
321	2,975.0	1	
322	2,987.3	1	
323	2,999.6	1	
324	3,011.9	1	
325	3,024.2	1	
326	3,036.5	1	
327	3,048.8	1	
328	3,061.1	1	
329	3,073.4	1	
330	3,085.7	1	
331	3,098.0	1	
332	3,110.3	1	
333	3,122.6	1	
334	3,134.9	1	
335	3,147.2	1	
336	3,159.5	1	
337	3,171.8	1	
338	3,184.1	1	
339	3,196.4	1	
340	3,208.7	1	
341	3,221.0	1	
342	3,233.3	1	
343	3,245.6	1	
344	3,257.9	1	
345	3,270.2	1	
346	3,282.5	1	
347	3,294.8	1	
348	3,307.1	1	
349	3,319.4	1	
350	3,331.7	1	
351	3,344.0	1	
352	3,356.3	1	
353	3,368.6	1	
354	3,380.9	1	
355	3,393.2	1	
356	3,405.5	1	
357	3,417.8	1	
358	3,430.1	1	
359	3,442.4	1	
360	3,454.7	1	
361	3,467.0	1	
362	3,479.3	1	
363	3,491.6	1	
364	3,503.9	1	
365	3,516.2	1	
366	3,528.5	1	
367	3,540.8	1	
368	3,553.1	1	
369	3,565.4	1	
370	3,577.7	1	
371	3,590.0	1	
372	3,602.3	1	
373	3,614.6	1	
374	3,626.9	1	
375	3,639.2	1	
376	3,651.5	1	
377	3,663.8	1	
378	3,676.1	1	
379	3,688.4	1	
380	3,700.7	1	
381	3,713.0	1	
Total		381	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Source: Tax records on file in the State capital. Not included is a property owned by the State, composed of 3,701 acres.

As has been indicated, all the farms in the community except four are known locally as *sítios*; these four are called *fazendas*. One of the latter is owned by the State government. Two others are owned by absentee landlords, each of whom lives in São Paulo and delegates the care of his property to an *administrador*. In the fourth case, the owner himself resides on the property and oversees the work on it.

The boundary lines of properties often used to be marked by *vales*, or deep ditches, some of which still exist (pl. 11, i).

Of the 73 houses in the village, 40 are owned by the families occupying them, 31 are rented, and 2 are used without charge by relatives of the owners. Many of the houses which are rented have been occupied for many years by the families now living in them. Rents range from 10 *crúzeiros* to 200 *crúzeiros* a month; the average is 46 *crúzeiros*.

<sup>102</sup> In two cases, part of the present holding also had been purchased.

<sup>103</sup> See Preparation for Quarrying, p. 30.



A property owner rarely makes a will. A village official knows of only two wills having been drawn up in recent years, and one of these is no longer in force, since a clause in it prescribed that the sale of any part of the property would nullify the testament and a part of the property has since been sold. If an owner dies intestate, half of the property goes to the wife, if she survives, and half is divided equally among the children.

The practice of primogeniture is absent in this culture. The ordinarily high reproductive rate has thus resulted in extensive subdivision of landed estates, a process which already has reduced materially the size of holdings in the community and is continuing, with each succeeding generation, to reduce them still more. A large farm of 770 *alqueires* (4,420 acres) was divided sometime ago between seven heirs, so that each owner now has 110 *alqueires* (636 acres). A farm which 50 years ago contained 400 *alqueires* (2,388 acres)<sup>124</sup> has now been broken up into 42 separate properties. Another farm of 60 *alqueires* (360 acres) was recently divided equally among six children so that each possesses only 10 *alqueires* (60 acres). A farm of 12 *alqueires* (72 acres) recently was divided among four heirs, so that each now has about 18 acres. In three generations, a farm of 120 *alqueires* (720 acres) has been subdivided until an heir who died recently left only 1½ *alqueires* (9 acres) to be divided among six children. "Before long," remarked a villager, humorously, "these farms won't be large enough for an ox to lie down on, unless his tail hangs over."

The recent purchase of two busses (see Transportation, p. 95) was made by 10 local men, each of whom put into the enterprise 20,000 *cruséis* (\$1,100). Two of the men are storekeepers, another is a retired farmer and present *sub-delegado* and part-time carpenter, four others are farmers, one is the overseer of the *olaria*, or establishment for making bricks, another is a politician now living in Boa Vista who grew up in the community, and the tenth is a farmer's son who owns and drives a truck.

#### MONEY, CREDIT, AND WAGES

As far as contact with the outer world is concerned, the inhabitants of the community participate entirely in a money economy. Payment for

farm produce that goes to the city is in money, as also is that for the few articles of clothing and the tools and other equipment which the farmer or villager buys in neighboring towns. Inside the community, barter still continues to some extent. Farmers occasionally exchange produce among themselves. At least part of their accounts at village stores may be settled in kind. As has been indicated, most of the payment for the grinding of maize at either of the two mills is made in by-products of the preparation of maize flour. Labor on farms is often paid for, in part, with farm produce for the laborer's family. A village girl who helps take care of the house on the *fazenda* at the edge of the village, is paid in food and clothing for herself and invalid mother. At the same time, the money economy of the outer world invades continually more and more even local transactions. Most purchases at village stores are paid for in currency, as are, almost without exception, drinks at the village *botequins*. When buying and selling among themselves, farmers ordinarily use money. The salaries of village officials and the two teachers are received and taxes are paid in money, as also are fares on the newly established bus line. Payment for labor or other services almost always is made in money.

Credit often is extended to farmers and villagers for purchases at village stores. One storekeeper, for instance, estimates that 60 percent of his sales are on credit and the owner of the bakery estimates that "less than half" of his sales are for cash. Without capital of their own or means of arranging credit elsewhere, most farmers are dependent upon this system to supply the needs of their families during the months while a crop is growing. At harvest time, the farmer may settle his account with the storekeeper in cash after selling his produce elsewhere or, as has been indicated, he may deliver a quantity of produce which, at the local price, equals the amount owed for the year. "When I first came here," remarked a farmer, "Seu Sebastião (a storekeeper) agreed to let me have credit at his store. I don't know what I would have done without it. I have just sold a crop of onions for 7 *contos*<sup>125</sup> and paid the 4 *contos*

<sup>124</sup> Previous to the substitution, in 1942, of the *milreis* by the *cruséis*, the term *conto* was used to refer to 1,000 *milreis*; in popular speech, the term has since been transferred to 1,000 *cruséis*.

<sup>125</sup> This farm was at that time bought for 8,000 *milreis*.



I owed for the year. You appreciate being treated like that."

In recent years, the inflation in Brazil has increased the need of local farmers, most of whom live on a bare subsistence level, for credit, not only to supply their families until a crop is harvested but also to purchase seed and such fertilizer and machinery as they may use. "Farming is grand," said a young man, "but what we need is credit." "This land is nearly worn out," said another farmer. "I was thinking of using some fertilizer on it. But it costs 95 *cruséis* a sack and I just haven't got the money." In emergencies, storekeepers sometimes not only extend credit to customers for purchases in their stores, but also lend them small sums.

In a community where contacts are primary and everyone knows everyone else intimately, both the difficulty on the part of the farmer to arrange a limited amount of credit and the possibility of loss on the part of the storekeeper are minimal. At the same time, owing to crop failure or other misfortune, accounts may be carried on the books for years. When the bakery was sold recently, outstanding debts totaled 6,000 *cruséis* (\$330). One of the storekeepers says that he is carrying at present "close to 100 *contos*" (\$5,500) on his books.

At the same time, an effort is beginning to be made in the village to limit the amount of credit extended. On a board hanging from the wall of the principal *botequim*, there are painted the words *vendo só a dinheiro* (I sell only for cash). Nearby is tacked a piece of paper on which is printed, in pencil, in large letters, the following verse:

O fiado me dá penas  
As penas me dão cuidado  
Para aliviar-me penas  
Não posso vender fiado.

(Credit brings me worry  
My worries cause me pain;  
To relieve myself of worry  
I do not sell on credit.)

A similar verse has recently been hung on the wall at the bakery. These efforts, however, seem to be only half-hearted. The owner of the *botequim*, for instance, estimates that about a third of his sales are still on credit.

The total amount of wages or salaries paid during any one month to persons living in the village

and surrounding area is relatively small. At the same time, a few employments are remunerated in this way. At present (July 1948), the wages being paid in the community for services are as follows:

	<i>Cruséis</i>
Washing clothes,* per dozen pieces.....	3
Sewing:	
To make a cotton dress.....	5-10
To make a silk dress.....	15
To make a pair of trousers.....	8-10
To make a man's or boy's coat.....	15
Doing housework (1 person), per month.....	100
Working in the fields:	
Per <i>tarifa</i> †.....	20-25
Per day, with food.....	10-12
Per day, without food.....	22-25
Cutting and piling firewood, per cubic meter.....	8
Working on the roads, per day.....	25
Shoeing horses, four horseshoes (13 <i>cruséis</i> to cover the cost of shoes).....	25
Making brick:	
Filling <i>picador</i> , per thousand bricks*.....	30
Mixing clay in <i>picador</i> and <i>pipa</i> , per thousand bricks.....	15
Molding bricks, per thousand bricks.....	24
Hauling bricks to kiln in wheelbarrow, per thousand bricks.....	6
Taking care of kiln, per day (or night).....	30
Removing bricks from kiln and hauling away in wheelbarrow, per thousand bricks.....	8
Laying brick.....	By the job, ( <i>empreitada</i> ).
Doing carpenter work.....	By the job.
Calchining.....	By the job.
Helping in a store:	
1 boy, per month.....	250
1 boy, per month, with food.....	180
1 boy, per month, with food.....	120
Driving a truck, per month.....	1,000
Helping load and unload a truck:	
1 person, per month, with food.....	200
1 person, per day, with food.....	5
Driving the new bus (1 person), per month.....	1,500
Collecting bus fares,† (1 person) per month, with food.....	500
Preparing a quarry for operation, per day*.....	20-24

\* Since specialization rarely has developed to the point where any one person spends all his working time at any one employment, listings are by type of work done rather than by occupation.

† See Glossary.

‡ From 1,000 to 1,100 bricks is considered an average day's work.

§ This person also handles milk cans picked up along the route and otherwise assists the driver of the bus.

¶ Depending on the type of work.



Cruzeiros

Overseeing preparations to put this quarry in operation (2 persons), per hour..... 5

A few persons draw regular salaries. They are as follows:

	Cruzeiros per month
Tax collector.....	2,700
Teacher (1).....	1,700
Teacher (1).....	1,300
Soldado <sup>1</sup> .....	1,056
Manager of <i>oficina</i> .....	1,000
Manager of new bus line.....	900
Mail carrier <sup>2</sup> .....	869
Fiscal of the <i>Prefeitura</i> <sup>3</sup> .....	850
Postmistress.....	800
Gravedigger.....	450
Supervisor of road work.....	450

<sup>1</sup> A raise in salary is anticipated shortly, since this teacher will soon have completed 15 years of teaching at which time the salary will automatically be increased.

<sup>2</sup> See Division of Labor, pp. 59, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Plus commission.

<sup>4</sup> Work consists in carrying mail on foot to and from São José dos Patos on the railroad 9 miles away. See Division of Labor, p. 58.

Only one person, the *escrivão de paz*, or registrar of vital statistics, makes his living from fees, although two other individuals occasionally are paid in this way: the *juiz de paz* receives 5 *cruzeiros* per marriage<sup>106</sup> and the *curador*<sup>107</sup> of marriages, 2 *cruzeiros*. The income of the *escrivão* has varied in recent years from 370 to 1,000 *cruzeiros* per month.

The *sub-prefeito* and the *sub-delegado*<sup>108</sup> serve without salary, as do the *padre*, the sacristan, the acolytes, and the patronesses, although, on the occasion of a religious festival, those in charge will give the sacristan 20 *cruzeiros* or so for his care of the church and the *padre* will give each of the acolytes a small sum out of the funds obtained for the festival. The woman who washes the vestments and altar cloths on these occasions may also be given from 20 to 40 *cruzeiros*. The midwife may be paid up to 40 or 50 *cruzeiros* for a delivery or receive remuneration in kind. In cases of extreme poverty, she may forego payment. "When I see they can't afford it," says the midwife, "I tell them it doesn't matter. I'll help them anyway."

<sup>106</sup> For performing the civil marriage ceremony.

<sup>107</sup> An official who checks the documents made out on the occasion of a marriage ceremony.

<sup>108</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 59.

Boys occasionally are hired for farm work at 7 *cruzeiros* a day, without food, or 4 *cruzeiros*, with food. To pick up potatoes, women and children are paid 8 *cruzeiros* a sack of 60 kilos (132 pounds). Two men who assist with the running of a mill to grind maize are paid, respectively, 500 and 400 *cruzeiros* per month and each is furnished a house for his family. The woman who "toasts" maize flour in this mill receives 60 centavos (0.60 *cruzeiro*) per kilo. The part-time barbers charge 3½ *cruzeiros* for a haircut and 1½ *cruzeiros* for a shave; the charge for the two services together is 4½ *cruzeiros*.

Farm labor used always to be hired, and still is to a considerable extent, by the *tarefa*, or task. So much is this so that many farmers still measure land in *tarefas*, and the *braças* of which the *tarefa* is composed. Apparently this measurement, as has been indicated, originally was the amount of land a person could work in a day. In the phrase *trabalho por tarefa* (working by the *tarefa*), the term became generalized also to refer to a certain quantity of wood cut or a certain number of trips made by the driver of an oxcart or mule train. A man working long hours or at a rapid rate obviously may complete in a day more than a *tarefa*. Farmers much prefer to hire by this system. As one farmer said, "I won't hire a man by the day, because then he will kill so much time that the day is over before he's gotten much done."<sup>109</sup>

Land in the community, with improvements, is selling at present for from 1,000 to 3,000 *cruzeiros* per *alqueire*, or about \$0.20 to \$27.50 per acre. A farm of 13 *alqueires*, with a small house, recently sold for 37,000 *cruzeiros* and another of 9 *alqueires*, also with a small house, for 22,000 *cruzeiros*. Payment for land and other properties is made either in cash or by promissory note. A farmer with 90 *alqueires* (about 540 acres) of land paid 470 *cruzeiros* land tax last year. Other tax payments were proportionately about the same. The land tax has since been increased 100 percent.

The only *sítio* being rented, among 15 visited, was leased at an annual rate of 337.50 *cruzeiros* for the 1.5 *alqueires*, or about 9 acres. This is equiva-

<sup>109</sup> The owner of a *fazenda* who pays by the *alqueire* to clear brush off land to be put to pasture complains that although in 1941 he paid only 40 *cruzeiros* per *alqueire*, he now has to pay "from 180 to 200 *cruzeiros*."



lent to approximately \$2.06 an acre. Cash rentals, however, are relatively rare, most farms which are rented being leased for a fourth, third, or half the crop, depending upon whether the owner furnishes seed, a house, and other considerations and pays for the plowing.

Milk is being sold in the community at present (1948) for 1.55 *cruszeiros* a liter and in Boa Vista at 2.50 *cruszeiros* a liter. The price of firewood delivered to the rail line at present is 65 to 70 *cruszeiros* a cubic meter. One man, however, has a contract of several years standing with the railroad company to furnish a large quantity of firewood at 55 *cruszeiros* a cubic meter. The prices of the principal agricultural products have been given in the section on Decline of Agriculture (p. 71) and the prices of the principal items purchased at the village stores, in the section on Vendas (p. 93).

The difference between prices today and prices some years ago is a recurrent subject in the conversation of local residents. "The *tempos de dantes*,"<sup>100</sup> remarked an elderly farm woman, "were much better. You got little for your produce in those days but it was enough to buy everything you needed because everything was so cheap." Remarked a 70-year-old villager:

When I was a young man, around fifty years or so ago, times were much better than they are today. Everything costs so much now that it seems like—God forgive me—a punishment has been sent upon us. I once

sold a pig weighing 5 arrobas<sup>101</sup> for 20 *milreis*. I sold sacks of beans, sacks of a hundred liters, and delivered them in São Paulo for a little over a *milreis* a sack. I paid all the expenses of getting them there. Today, a hundred-liter sack of good *rozinho* beans costs 300 in São Paulo. Even a sack of ordinary beans costs 200. We used to get a 60-kilo sack of *carolinha* rice for 9 *milreis*; today, you can hardly buy the empty sack for that price. Codfish used to be 500 *reis* a kilo; only 100 *reis* would buy enough for a meal. As God is in heaven and I am on earth, this is the truth.

Remarked another villager:

Forty years ago, when I was a young man, I remember selling an *arropa* of pork for 9 *milreis* and chickens at 1 *milreis*, 200 *reis* each. Maize was very cheap, too; only 2 *milreis* an *alqueire* (50 liters). You could buy a steer to butcher for 60 *milreis*; today, they sell for 1,000. You could buy a young burro for 25 *milreis*, or a full-grown one for 130; today they are selling for 4,000 to 5,000.

Land at that time wasn't worth much. Almost no one wanted to buy it. If someone did, he could get it for 10 *milreis* an *alqueire* (about 6 acres). One of my neighbors sold a farm at that time for 3,500 *milreis*; today it is worth 55,000. The *fazenda* here by the village was put up at auction and sold for 8,000 *milreis*; the other day, the man in São Paulo who owns it was offered 1,000,000 for it, but he wouldn't sell.

I built that little house up the street. The bricks cost me only 25 *milreis* a thousand; large bricks, well-baked and made of real clay, not just of dirt like many bricks you get nowadays. They weighed three times as much as the bricks they put out now; and still you have to pay today 500 to 600 a thousand.

Once when I was a boy, I had 1 *milreis*, 200 *reis*. My brother-in-law found it out and wanted to whip me; he thought I had stolen it. In those days, that was a lot of money!"

<sup>100</sup> Literally, "the times of before," that is, "formerly."

<sup>101</sup> 32 pounds.

## SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Consideration has been given to the three primary elements of the local community: the population group, the habitat, and the ways in which this population group has accommodated itself to its habitat so as to obtain the satisfaction of basic needs.

Attention will now be given to the conditions and forms of association and the concerted activity in which these forms are revealed, as well as to the common meanings and common expectations of behavior which channelize and to a considerable extent determine this activity. Of primary consideration will be the interaction of local indi-

viduals, which is the mechanism of concerted action (or, in other words, of the *society*) and which proceeds in keeping with common meanings and common expectations (or, in other words, in keeping with the *culture*); while, at the same time, it is also the means by which these common meanings and expectations are renewed, as they are handed on from one generation to the next, and changed, either during this process or otherwise. These two complementary aspects of human life are so intricately related—concerted activity being not only determined to a considerable extent by cultural forms but also the means by which new



forms emerge and old forms change—that these two elements of the local situation may, with advantage, be considered together.

### ISOLATION AND CONTACT

The principal contact with the outside world used to be by way of the *tropeiros* who lived in the village and drove *tropas* to nearby towns, or to São Paulo or Santos, or made long journeys west and south to purchase horses, mules, or burros to be driven to other parts of the State and sold. A few of the experiences of one of these men have already been cited. (See Transportation, p. 24.) An older man in the village recalls similar experiences:

When I was a boy, I lived in the village with my grandfather. He often let *tropeiros* stay overnight at his house. One of them took a liking to me. When I was 16 years old, I too became a *tropeiro*.

There are two kinds of *tropas*: The "loose" *tropa* and the "saddled" *tropa*. The "loose" *tropa* is a bunch of horses, mules, or burros which is driven some place to be sold. The "saddled" *tropa* is a pack train. I always drove a "loose" *tropa*. In the first bunch, there were 64 animals. I bought them in Itapetininga and sold them in Caberiva, Jundiá, Campinas, Araras, and Limeira. Later, I sold animals also in Bragança, Amparo, and Pirassununga. I made friends with many dealers and they gave me credit. Sometimes I was able to buy as many as a hundred head at a time.

Without a *tropa*, I could make the trip to Itapetininga on horseback in 3 days, traveling about 10 *leguas* a day. It took 8 or 10 days to come back with the *tropa*. It was easy to find a place to spend the night. Sometimes we would stop in a town, but most of the time we stayed at farmhouses. A few times we had to pitch a tent. Some of my trips lasted more than 30 days. On every one I took two or three pack animals of my own which carried food, a tent, and everything else I needed. I also had along an assistant, a *peão*, a man who could handle any burro, no matter how wild he might be. There was also a boy with us. We carried many messages. Sometimes people gave us letters in sealed envelopes to deliver along the way.

At that time, there were four other *tropeiros* living in the village who drove "loose" *tropas*. Five other men had pack trains with which they hauled stuff from the nearest point on the railroad. My father had a pack train. He owned a store in the village. He would go to Santos to get stuff and bring it all the way here. At that time, the Government kept up the road for *tropas* and oxcarts from Santos to Itá. Burros took cotton to São Paulo in 3 days. Each burro carried two sacks and the price was 1 *milre* and 500 *reis* a burro per day. Many *tropeiros* sang as they went along. I also sang but I don't remember the songs any more.

As has been indicated, mobility is still relatively low.<sup>102</sup> Although the city of São Paulo is only 2 or 3 hours away by truck and a railway passes a few miles to the south and "through" roads run a few miles to either side of the community, contact with the outside world is still quite limited. The members of the community consequently live a rather self-contained and integrated life with little intrusion from the outside. At the same time, there is some contact with the outer world by way of occasional visits to neighboring towns and, more rarely, to São Paulo; by way of a few persons who have visited briefly other communities or remained away a few months or years before returning; by way of new residents who from time to time have moved into the community from other parts of the State or, in a few cases, from other parts of Brazil or from other countries; by way of pilgrims passing through on their way to the shrine at Pirapora (see Romarias, p. 175); and, to a limited extent, by way of letters, the printed page, and the radio.

Of the persons living on 17 farms visited, as has been indicated, few have ever been to São Paulo. One woman, 38 years old, has been there twice in her lifetime. "São Paulo is too crowded," she says. "You get dizzy from it all. Us folks from the country like it quieter." One family spent a night in São Paulo while moving to the community from Minas Gerais. A grandmother recalls her father taking her to the city when she was a small girl; her 31-year-old daughter-in-law, who lives in the same house, has never been there. One man, 37 years old, has been to São Paulo four times. The midwife goes there "once in a while," when she is unable longer "to resist the pleading of my relatives"; but, she says, "I go one day and come back the next. I lose my appetite there. I can't stand the city." One man interviewed visits São Paulo "almost every year."

Most of the farmers and a few of their wives occasionally visit one or more of the nearby towns, like Boa Vista, Piracema, and Paratinga, each quite rural in character, with a population of from 900 to 5,000, and more infrequently someone visits briefly a similar town somewhat further away. Many men and most women, however, visit only their relatives, *compadres*,<sup>103</sup> and other acquaint-

<sup>102</sup> See Mobility, p. 27.

<sup>103</sup> See *Compadres*, p. 142.



ances in the immediate neighborhood. One housewife says, "I never go out except to visit my sister who lives right near here. Once in a while I also go to see my *comadre*." Another woman, who lives only about 2 miles from the village, says, "I almost never leave the farm. It's 4 years now since I've been to the village." A third woman, who occasionally visits her sister in Piracema, says, "I never go on a day of *feita* because she rents out her house then and there wouldn't be room. Mostly, I visit my married children (who live on the same farm). I hardly ever go further. I don't need to, with all my children and grandchildren." Another woman says, "Sometimes on Sunday I go to see one of my *comadres* who lives near here. I have lots of *comadres*. I go see one of them one Sunday and if another complains that I haven't been to see her, I go see her the next Sunday. Sometimes people come to our house in the evening; but only men. They come to talk and play *truco* (a card game) with my husband."

In many cases, knowledge of other parts of the world, including Brazil, does not exist or is vague and inaccurate. One of the most able women in the village, for instance, a woman who had heard of the northern States of Alagoas, Sergipe, and Ceará because persons from each of these States have come to live in the village, once asked if Amazonas was in Brazil. When her husband, one of the best informed men in the village, replied in the affirmative, she inquired if Buenos Aires were in Brazil. A person present then asked if the United States were in Brazil. Several men and an occasional woman, however, are better informed.

As has been indicated, contact with the outside world through letters or the printed page is possible almost daily by way of the village postal station. Each day of the week except Monday, during the past 25 years, John-the-Letter-Carrier has brought the mail to the village from the nearest point on the rail line, usually on foot, over a rather precarious road, with a punctuality that is legend in the community.

The extent of this contact, however, is quite limited. During the month of March 1947, for instance, John-the-Letter-Carrier brought 109 letters to the village and took 148 out, or an average of about 5.5 and 5 letters, respectively, each day. A considerable portion of the correspondence was

of official character, received or sent out by one or the other of the village officials. Almost all the other letters were received or sent by village officials, the storekeepers, or the teachers, the receiving or sending of a letter by another villager or a farmer being a rare occurrence. There is no mail delivery within the village or to the farms.

Twenty-nine items of printed matter were received during the month, all of which were questionnaires or similar forms sent to the tax collector, the village registrar, or the *fiscal da prefeitura*, and 30 similar items were sent out. No registered letters were received or sent during the month.<sup>14</sup>

Of six young men, aged 15 to 19, who were asked how many letters each had received during his lifetime, two replied that they had received none; one that he had received two letters and the other three young men that they had received three letters each. The two letters received by one of these young men had been sent by his father and an uncle. One of the three young men who had received three letters each had heard from an aunt, a godmother, and a friend of about his own age; another had heard three times from an uncle; and the third young man had heard from three friends, one in a nearby town, one in a State to the west of São Paulo, and the third in Rio de Janeiro.

The tax collector and the registrar of vital statistics also received regularly the *Diário Oficial*, a Government publication in which all laws, regulations, decrees, and similar pronouncements are officially published. Two persons, a storekeeper and the administrator of the *fazenda* that lies at the edge of the village, receive *O Estado de São Paulo*, a daily newspaper printed in the capital city; and four other persons, a second storekeeper, the village registrar, the baker, and a school teacher, receive regularly *O Diário de São Paulo*, another daily newspaper printed in the city. The copies that go to the storekeepers, however, are used more for wrapping articles purchased at the stores, than for reading. No magazines or similar publications are received.

<sup>14</sup> Five of the letters sent and three of those received during the month were *com valor declarado* (with a declared value) and carried currency, in keeping with a service whose purpose is similar to that of the post-office money order in the United States. The total amount of money involved was 1,223 *cruséis* in the three incoming letters and 1,538 *cruséis* in the five letters sent out, or approximately \$66 and \$83, respectively.



There is only one radio in the village, purchased about 2 years ago.<sup>128</sup> It will be recalled that this man's house is one of the two in the village which is supplied with electricity from a small motor turned by water power on the *fazenda* lying at the edge of the village. The radio is used principally on the occasions of a broadcast of a game of *futebol* (soccer) in São Paulo, at which time several village men and boys may come in to listen.

A few of the men have had to leave the community for several months to undergo military training. At the age of 18, all young men in Brazil, unless physically incapacitated, become subject to this service. Those actually engaged in farming are exempt, so that the number of young men who have been away for this reason is small. Training usually is in the city of São Paulo, but may be elsewhere in the State. In only one case known, has a young man failed to return to the community when the period of service was over. All the others, however, have returned much changed. "They come back more active," said a villager, "more wide awake." As a school teacher put it, "They return more civilized." Occasionally, a young man comes back no longer satisfied with life in the community. After spending 13 months in military training, a young man, for instance, whose mother is a widow, recently returned and is at present engaged in cutting wood on a neighbor's farm. "I'd like to get a job in the city and get away from all this," he says. "Cutting wood is too hard work. If it hadn't been for my mother and my brothers and sisters, I'd have stayed in the army. It was much better there."

The lack of communication in the region gave rise to an expectation which came to be laid upon all who traveled out of their communities to carry messages and parcels which the need of a neighbor or acquaintance required. Anyone who had occasion to go to a nearby town would, upon departing, ask any of his friends or neighbors whom he met, "*Quê arguma coisa de lá?*" (Can I bring you anything from there?). In the course of this study, for example, research personnel rarely left the village without at least one *encomenda* (errand) for some villager or farmer. Included were requests

to purchase fishing equipment, a gasoline pressure lamp, a Winchester rifle, a shotgun, parts for a kerosene lantern, and playing cards; earrings were taken to the city to be repaired and a dress for a woman who had been hurriedly taken to a hospital was delivered.

When, some years ago, trucks began to operate in the region, their drivers, being more or less "permanent travelers," came to play, like the *tropeiros* before them, an important role in communication. In areas like this, where contacts were primary and means of communication few, the driver of a truck was expected to be not only a competent chauffeur but also a willing and efficient courier, with a memory cultivated for *encomendas*. Even today, when mail comes regularly into the village, truck drivers on almost all trips out of the community carry letters, oral messages, or parcels which they deliver directly to the person in question. The replies or parcels brought back are sometimes left at a village store until the villager or farmer comes in and asks, "Did the driver of the truck leave something for me?"

Since contact with the world outside the community so far has been quite limited and most of that which has occurred has been with persons in nearby rural neighborhoods and small towns whose way of life is similar, comparatively little strain for consistency has been injected into the local mores. Even the foreigners, or children of foreigners, who have come to live in the community have been too few in number and their coming has been spread over too long a period of time and the local society and culture have been too resistant, to alter appreciably the character of the local situation. Like the Japanese storekeeper and his wife, incoming individuals have been rather readily assimilated and the diverse attitudes, sentiments, and points of view which they may have brought with them have been filtered out of the common life rather than admitted into it.

The rather general condition of isolation, both geographic and cultural, has not only made for solidity in the mores but the consequent absence of Alternatives of behavior for the individual has at the same time increased that solidity and worked against personal individualization and disorganization. Folk ideas regarding natural phenomena, including means of magical character for dealing with sickness and its cure, tend to prevail in the

<sup>128</sup> Since this was written, one of the storekeepers has purchased and installed in his store a cheap radio operated by batteries.



community. Belief in such phenomena as *assombrações* and the action of other mysterious beings and forces, has a strong grip upon the perception and the imagination of all local persons. As will be evident in the account that follows, elements of folk belief and attitude still permeate other aspects of the communal life. The resolution of practical problems by way of traditional techniques handed down from fathers and grandfathers, all of which were in keeping with conventional ideas, attitudes, and beliefs, has made it unnecessary to call out latent abilities and to sharpen and develop intellectual functions. At the same time, this relative lack of problems implies a relative lack of frustration and a satisfaction with the daily round of life which is accompanied by a larger measure of personal happiness than one ordinarily finds where society and culture are in flux.

These remarks describe the prevailing situation. Like most generalizations, however, they require certain qualification. Contact with the world outside the community, although limited, apparently has always occurred to some extent. From this community, as has been indicated, set out and (usually) returned *bandeirante* leaders, with their retainers and Indian and (occasionally) African servants and slaves. Other Indians sometimes were brought back and settled in the community. There has always been some moving into the area of persons and families from nearby rural communities. The several *tropeiros* who once operated out of the village, a few of whom are still living, must have brought in from the outside world at least a few novel ideas, attitudes, and points of view. Contact with other persons within the community, especially on the part of those living in the village, has been relatively constant and intense. Few of the local inhabitants are dull or stolid. On the contrary, there are a number of persons whose mental alertness is of a highly developed character. This keenness of mind, however, tends to spend itself in prolonged and eminently satisfying conversation—the *prosa* as it is called locally—rather than in attacking systematically and effectively the problems that are now, especially with the impingement of the metropolitan market upon the community, beginning to emerge (see, for example, *Decline of Agriculture*, p. 71). Some skepticism has appeared and would

seem to be growing. There is also an occasional case of personal disorganization. (See *Social Disorganization*, p. 218.)

The inauguration of bus transportation, which occurred during the period in which the community was under observation,<sup>100</sup> obviously will considerably increase contact with the outside world. As has been indicated, this occurrence was the culmination of an effort on the part of a village leader who little by little had convinced several other men to join him in the undertaking. Most of the local inhabitants had been quite skeptical of any positive result ever coming from these efforts. They recalled several times in the past when they had been disillusioned with reference to similar hopes as the prelection promises of politicians produced nothing tangible. Remarks like the following were commonly heard: "They say a *jardineira*<sup>101</sup> will come here; if it does, it will be well. But *qué!* it's only talk."

The energy and persistence of this village leader, however, gradually dispelled doubts. As each new associate agreed to join him, or other step in the enterprise actually was taken, his comments to villagers were in such tones of positive conviction that there began to develop a rather general interest in the undertaking and this interest eventually grew to the point where it came largely to dominate the thinking and conversation of local inhabitants. What had begun as the initiative of an individual in response to a felt need, now began to take on at least something of the character of a collective act. Individual attitudes toward the undertaking became shared attitudes. In spite of an approaching election and the absorption in politics to which the local inhabitants ordinarily become subjected at such times,<sup>102</sup> the "coming of the *jardineira*," as it was called, became a subject of conversation, even more than the candidates for public office, every time a villager or farmer met an acquaintance. "We used to get all excited over elections," remarked a farmer, "but we're learning that you can't get a shirt from politics. The *graudos* (big shots) remember us on the day before election, but that's the only time they ever think of us. If we hadn't made an effort ourselves, if it hadn't been for us arranging the money and fixing up

<sup>100</sup> See *Transportation*, p. 95; also plate 14, c.

<sup>101</sup> Colloquial expression for "bus."

<sup>102</sup> See *Political Behavior*, p. 184.



the road, when do you think we ever would have gotten this far toward having a *jardineira*?" "Now things are beginning to change," remarked a villager. "People are opening their eyes. We've voted for this man and for that and we've been kept waiting and hoping, and nothing more. All it's amounted to has been that *seguramo a cabra pros ôtro mamã* (we have held the goat for others to suck)."

The importance of the inauguration of the new bus line was reflected in the ceremonial sanction given it. The date of the first trip was set for October 19. On the morning of that day, the bus set out, with a band, from the neighboring town of Boa Vista. As soon as it was seen coming on the road outside the village, the church bells began to ring and rockets were set off as on a day of  *festa* . An enthusiastic crowd of villagers and farmers had already gathered in the village square. When the bus pulled up, the members of the band got out and played several marches. Then, accompanied by the crowd, at whose head were the  *padre*  and two acolytes, one of the latter of which carried a vessel with holy water and the other the aspergill, the band escorted the bus to a point at the edge of the village where a school teacher had strung up across the road leading out to Piracema a green and yellow<sup>100</sup> ribbon. The band then played another march, after which the  *padre*  took the aspergill and sprinkled holy water over the hood, the door, and the interior of the bus. He then read a passage from the prayer book and turned to the crowd and said, "I am greatly pleased to perform this ceremony. You, my friends, are to be congratulated upon this great achievement. From the bottom of my heart, I offer a most sincere prayer that this step of progress, this giant step, will be for the good of all. I now cut this green and yellow ribbon which closes off the way of progress. Surely the way of progress will always remain open, by the will of God, for my friends in the village and in all the  *município* ." The  *padre*  then cut the ribbon with a pair of scissors, after which several women and girls took the two pieces and placed one to either side of the bus so as to make it appear that the bus itself, in its passage, had broken the ribbon. The school teacher then called for a  *Viva!*  in honor of the  *Empresa Nossa Senhora da Penha*  (Our Lady of Penha Enterprise),

the name of the local company which had been formed to operate the bus, to which the people responded with enthusiasm, followed by a second  *Viva!*  for the men who had formed the company and a third for "the people of the village."

The members of the band and as many other persons as could crowd inside then got into the bus and it was driven to a spot in front of the church, where the band played another march; after which, followed by seven trucks, filled with other villagers and farmers, the bus set out for Piracema. The remainder of the crowd either went into the church to pray or dispersed, since, as a man put it, "no one has had  *armogo*  and it's way past time."

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the bus and the accompanying crowd returned from Piracema. As they approached, they were again saluted by the ringing of the church bells and the setting off of rockets. Pulling up into the village square, the bus halted for the band to play "gay music," and again was surrounded by an admiring and happy crowd. A half-hour later, the band from Boa Vista was joined by the village band which had been playing at a  *festa*  at the church near the river to the north of the village. At the edge of the square, the members of the village band got out of the truck in which they had been riding, formed into ranks and marched up to the bus where they "saluted" the band from Boa Vista with a march, to which this band then responded. The members of the latter band then got out of the bus and greeted personally each member of the local band. After a few minutes, the members of the village band climbed into the bus and played while the bus went slowly round the village. The assembled crowd then broke up, to take food and other refreshment, either at the homes of friends or the village stores.

That night, a dance was held in honor of the event, attended by villagers and farm families and approximately 50 other persons from the towns of Boa Vista and São José dos Patos. The village band first formed in front of the house where the dance was to be held and played until all the men who had organized the bus line had arrived. The members of the band then entered and struck up a waltz to which these men alone danced, after which they were given a vigorous round of applause. Other persons present then joined in the

<sup>100</sup> The colors of the Brazilian flag.



dance and the festivities continued until after midnight.

The following comments reveal the sentiments, attitudes, and expectations which accompanied and defined this new experience in the life of the local inhabitants:

What a dream! I scarcely can believe that I'm seeing the *jardineira* there in the *praca*!<sup>107</sup>

Now, if you have to go to Boa Vista, all you have to do is grab the "big beast" (*bichona*) and you're in town.

You can't even imagine how much improvement this will bring.

As soon as people get accustomed to riding in this thing, you'll see lots of new faces here.

Now, with all this progress, no one can call us *caipiras* any more.

People will have to admit that the *caipiras de carcanhã rachado*<sup>108</sup> do amount to something. It was us who put in this *jardineira*.

In these and similar remarks, one notes a pride in achievement and a sense of the realization of long-deferred hopes. Predominant is the consideration that the village is now linked with the outside world as it has never been before. "The *peçoar de fora* (the people outside)," remarked a man, "will now come to know our village." The former isolation, which is commonly referred to as "abandonment," is now expected to disappear. "*Nós sempre vivemos abandonado e esquecido neste ôco do mundo* (We have always lived abandoned and forgotten in this hole of the world)," said a villager. One observes, however, a note of apprehension mixed with the satisfaction; satisfaction over the achievement, apprehension over the changes that may come.

The bus makes two round trips daily. It is scheduled to leave Piracema at 6 o'clock in the morning and, after passing through the village, reach Boa Vista at 8 o'clock. It leaves Boa Vista on the return trip at 10:30 and, after once more passing through the village, is scheduled to arrive in Piracema 2 hours later. It sets out the second time from Piracema at 2 o'clock in the afternoon; and, from Boa Vista, on the return, at 5:30.

The arrival of the bus each time it passes through the village has become a major event of the day. Even before it is in sight, several men gather at the point where it is to stop, to converse while await-

ing its coming. As soon as it arrives, it is surrounded by men and children who admire it and peer shyly in to see better the passengers who are going through and to listen to their conversation. The meanwhile, the women and older girls lean out of the windows of their homes to observe as much as they can. Four times a day, this event has become an experience in the village to be looked forward to, bringing a new and previously unknown contact with the outer world.

Riding on the bus is also a new and satisfying experience for local residents. Although it has a seating capacity of only 26 persons, on one of the first trips 64 persons crowded inside. On another occasion, 58 persons were observed to be in the bus at one time. The following page from the researcher's notebook describes more fully this desire to try out the new experience:

Upon arriving at the store in Boa Vista where the bus stops, I found it literally "jammed to the doors." "Dá,"<sup>109</sup> however, someone said. While I was looking about to find a place to plant a foot inside, a boy pushed past with a "Dá licença!,"<sup>110</sup> climbed up and wriggled through the mass packed around the door. I sought to do likewise and managed to squeeze in far enough to grasp the iron bar behind the driver. Three men stood between me and the windshield. A man and a boy were to my left near the bar I was grasping. Two persons were seated at the side of the driver on a short bench built for one person. Behind us, the aisle was packed all the way to the back so that a person could scarcely pass. On one of the front seats, hardly wide enough for two persons, were four persons, one of whom had his feet so far out into the aisle that I could move only with difficulty. Three little girls and five men were jammed in between me and the door while three other men hung by their toes and finger tips, part in, part out of, the entrance. In all, 67 persons were traveling on the bus, without counting passengers who were picked up from time to time along the way as others got off, squeezing their way out with great difficulty through the packed mass.

Persons who had rarely, if ever, been away from home, began to get on at points along the way, and to ride over to Boa Vista or Piracema, usually revealing in their behavior the newness of the experience. On one occasion, a man of about 30 years of age, whose features strongly suggested Indian ancestry, appeared rather dazed at the nearness of so many strangers. The bus was extremely crowded. Although the aisle was full of passengers who were standing, the man sat, during the

<sup>107</sup> See the following section, p. 107.

<sup>108</sup> Literally, the "caipiras with rough and cracked heels," that is, very caipiras.

<sup>109</sup> Roughly, "You can make it."

<sup>110</sup> Literally, "Give me permission!"



entire time he was on the bus, with one foot out into the aisle, where persons had to step over it to get past. When the bus pulled up at a wayside store, he seemed undecided what to do. Finally, after the bus began to move on, his seatmate, a stranger who had been talking to the man back of him, discovered his plight and pulled the cord to signal the driver to stop, after which the passenger made his way hesitatingly and with difficulty through the crowded aisle and out of the bus. A few other persons, including two boys about 14 and 16 years of age, respectively, sprawled in their seats with a leg or other part of the body thrust out into the aisle, apparently without realizing that a slight alteration of position on their part would enable persons nearby to stand more comfortably. Each passenger tended generally to ignore the presence of persons unknown to him, even when someone was thrown off balance by the sudden lurch of the bus, as it passed over a particularly rough spot in the road, and brushed against him. Occasionally, however, such physical contact resulted in frowns or even scowls.

The inauguration of bus transportation not only increased the possibility of travel but also afforded, in the bus driver, a ready means of communication with the towns at either end of the bus line. The present driver is a young man born and reared in the village and known and liked by everyone. Regularly, four times a day, he brings in parcels, messages, and news from the outside. As soon as the bus pulls up in the village, he leaps out to go into the store to confer with the storekeeper and the *sub-delegado*, both of whom are part owners of the bus line, about occurrences on the trip over. At this time, he also may pick up or deliver messages or parcels intrusted to his care. He is at once surrounded by villagers who have come down to the store to see the bus pass through. He may have news which he has heard in the town from which he has just come; or he may recount an interesting conversation overheard from passengers on the bus or at a stop along the way. On a recent occasion, he was heard to say, for instance, "*Chiii! Boa Vista is just boiling with politics! They tell me Laurindo (a man born in the village and now a councilman of the *município*) has gone over to the party of the *prefeito*."*

After the bus has left, each person about the store will carry away the information or rumor he has picked up,

until shortly it is known all over the village and well out into the surrounding country.

The present driver was hired a short time after the bus line began to function. The first driver, a young man from Boa Vista, was dismissed by the owners of the bus shortly after he began work, one of the principal reasons being, it seems, his inability or unwillingness to respond to the expectations laid upon him of carrying messages and parcels for local inhabitants. Previous to his dismissal, comments like the following were heard: "I don't think Miguel will get ahead in this world. You give him an *encomenda* and when he comes back he has the same excuse every time: 'Oh! I forgot.' That won't do! The driver of a bus must know how to treat people."

The present driver is considered much more dependable in this respect. If by chance he forgets an *encomenda*, he, as a villager tells it, "makes a scene that is impressive. He strikes his head with his hand and exclaims, 'Oh, what luck! But it isn't that I forgot, *Seu João*. You can be sure that wasn't the reason. Tomorrow, God willing, I'll bring it. Forgive me for today.'" To forget an *encomenda*, however, is a rare occurrence with this young man. He is aware of, and accepts, the local expectations in this respect.

#### CAIPIRA VERSUS "CIDADÃO"

The comparative lack of contact over a considerable period of time between the inhabitants of rural communities like the one under study and the inhabitants of a city like São Paulo, together with the more extensive and more varied round of contacts to which the inhabitants of the city are continually subjected, has resulted in the development of certain characteristics in the members of each group which mark them off from the members of the other group. Thus, the inhabitants of the city (and to a lesser extent, owing to their greater isolation, those also of the country) have come to think of themselves as belonging to different and distinct entities which stand over against each other.

The inhabitants of the city usually refer to the inhabitants of the country as *caipiras* (see below). The latter sometimes refer to themselves by this term but more often as "*gente da roça*" (people of the fields); or, less commonly, as the timber is cut away, *gente do mato* (literally, "people of the



woods"). They usually refer to the inhabitants of the city simply as *gente da cidade* (city people), although occasionally one also hears the term *cidadãos* (citizens), with its original meaning of "inhabitants of the city," being employed in this connection.

The term *caipira* is used in two different ways: (1) as a descriptive term and (2) as a term of disapproval and even ridicule. Apparently it originally had merely a descriptive function. As such, it referred to a rural inhabitant of the plateau area of the State of São Paulo, in contrast to the *caçara*, or rural inhabitant of the coastal shelf. Racially, the *caipira* is of Indian and European origin, mixed, in varying degrees, from area to area, with the African. His culture varies somewhat from that of the larger cities, one of the differences being the *caipira* dialect (see below). This culture, however, has much in common with that of other rural areas in the settled portion of Brazil. In fact, some persons generalize the term *caipira* to refer to any individual living anywhere in Brazil outside the larger cities. Thus, to many persons in the city of São Paulo, everyone in the "interior" is a *caipira*. ("Interior" is here used in somewhat the same sense as "up country" in New York, or "down State" in Chicago.) Considered the most *caipira* of all, however, would be the man who works the land.

The local alteration in the meaning of the term apparently accompanied the growth of the town of São Paulo into a metropolis and the concomitant development of group consciousness in the inhabitants of the city. The term *caipira* has thus come to symbolize the characteristics of the rural inhabitants which, in the perception or imagination of the man in the city, set the rural inhabitant off from the "*cidadão*" and help the latter to distinguish himself from the man in the country. Especially is this true among the descendants of those *caipiras* who have moved to the city and who, like so often occurs in the case of children and grandchildren of immigrants, are unconsciously seeking means to demonstrate their solidarity with the new group they have joined. In many cases in which it is currently employed, the term consequently has come to have a disparaging connotation and to be used especially for showing disapproval or in ridicule. The characteristics most often associated with the term are simple-mindedness and

naïveté, linked with shyness and awkwardness in unfamiliar situations; a lack of schooling and a consequent persistence in the use of a dialect differing somewhat from the language of the city; a "low" standard of living; and certain personal habits like the use of corn husks and "strong" tobacco for cigarettes.

In this sense, the term *caipira* is also applied to persons actually living in the city whose behavior recalls any of the above-mentioned characteristics. It is especially used by "social climbers" when referring to persons to whom they feel superior.

Supporting this conception is a caricature of the *caipira* made some years ago by a popular Brazilian writer, which to some extent has now become a stereotype and tends to color the thinking of many persons in the cities, especially those who do not know *caipiras* at first hand. "A *caipira* is a *jeca*," said a boy in the city, 12 years old, "that funny *Jeca Tatú* of Monteiro Lobato, who doesn't even wear shoes." "A *caipira* is a country bumpkin who lives in a hut of *sapé*," said a young woman in the city. "He has no education, no ambition, and no knowledge; he is undernourished and sad. He works just enough to keep alive. He is the *Jeca Tatú* of Monteiro Lobato." "The word *caipira*," said a young man in the city, "always calls up for me the image of a man of the fields, barefoot, unshaven, wearing an old hat, a cotton shirt and trousers, and with a cigarette of corn husks dangling from the corner of his mouth. A person very *desconfiado*." A great believer in his *santos*<sup>28</sup> and terribly superstitious." As such, the *caipira* is at times ridiculed, at other times sentimentalized, in vaudeville and on the radio.

To the above-mentioned characteristics, however, the more thoughtful inhabitants of the city add other characteristics also identified with the *caipira* of which they and others approve: A profound sense of hospitality, "kindness," a carefulness about "keeping one's word," and shrewdness (Pires, n. d., pp. 5, 11).

The two meanings of the term *caipira* are revealed in the following statements made by students of the social sciences, all living in the city of

<sup>28</sup> This word is difficult to translate. In this connection, it signifies an attitude of reserve toward strangers which is due to a lack of experience and of self-confidence, as well as apprehension over possible slights or harm.

<sup>29</sup> See Santos, p. 147.



São Paulo, who were asked to indicate what they considered to be the significance of the term.

To me, *caipira* refers to a person reared in a rural and isolated society and who for this reason has had little or no opportunity to get on with persons reared in an urban society. Consequently, when he is with persons in the city, he feels and acts as if he didn't know how to conduct himself. He gives an impression of being naïve, even ignorant, regarding matters common to the daily life of the city; and at the same time, he is very *desconfiado*.

In current speech, *caipira* means (1) a man from the country; (2) an uneducated person who has never gone to school and who speaks a queer dialect; (3) a *caboclo*, or person whose ancestors were Indians, mixed with Europeans; and (4) in a general way, an inhabitant of any other city except São Paulo (the *paulistano*<sup>24</sup> considers an inhabitant of Campinas (a city of 90,000 inhabitants) to be a *caipira* and he himself would be a *caipira* to the *cariooca*).<sup>25</sup>

A *caipira* is someone who lives in the "interior" of the state (by "interior," we mean outside the capital city). His habits, although basically Brazilian, do not coincide with those of the city dweller. Even a person who lives in the city but who comes from a small town and who keeps his original habits is also considered a *caipira*, no matter how long he has lived in the city.

*Caipira* for me means a man who lives in the "interior," is not well informed, and has a low standard of living. He lives by farming, using nonrational practices which give him less return than he could get by other means. Although this brings him discomfort, he doesn't feel the necessity of adopting certain improvements which civilization brings.

A *caipira* is a naïve individual who lacks social "polish." He is timid, shy, bashful, awkward; he doesn't know how to do things, how to orient and conduct himself. In short, he is clumsy socially.

*Caipira* is a term which refers to a person who resides in a rural area. Usually he lives on a bare subsistence level even when he owns some property. When he comes to the city, he feels out of place and insecure for he is not accustomed to so many pedestrians in the streets and to traffic. His beliefs differ a lot from ours in the city. He believes many things which we think are merely "superstitions."

The *caipira* is the most humble type of rural inhabitant. Often, however, in anecdotes, he is presented as a person who gives an appearance of being stupid but who turns out to be possessed of great shrewdness. City inhabitants are accustomed to call each other *caipiras* if the person in question does not behave according to the norms taken to be characteristic of the "great centers." The shy and timid also are often called *caipiras*, owing to the fact that they cannot keep from showing embarrassment in their contacts with other people.

Several persons born and reared in the city of São Paulo and who presumably had not lost their natural ethnocentrism by reason of courses in the social sciences, were asked, "What is a *caipira*?" The responses were:

Girl, house servant, 15 years old:

*Caipiras* are silly people. They don't even talk right. And they go around laughing at nothing.

Man, pharmacist, 68 years old:

A *caipira* is a person from a farm, who doesn't know how to behave.

Man, owner of a sawmill, 42 years old:

The *caipira* is an ignorant man. He has no notion of civilization.

Housewife, 40 years old:

A *caipira* is an animal from the woods, shy, timid, gossipy. He usually lives in a house made of *pau a pique* and he's dirty.

Woman, normal-school teacher, 52 years old:

A *caipira* differs from other people in the way he walks, the way he speaks, and the way he dresses. He is full of superstitious beliefs. He is simple, reticent, *desconfiado*.

Woman, clerk, 23 years old:

You can tell a *caipira* by his clothes. You don't even need to talk to him. Just notice his trousers; they are always short and tight.

Man, student, 22 years old:

The *caipira* is a simple fellow. When someone lets him farm a piece of land, what does he do? He sets four posts into the ground for a house. He plants a little patch of maize and raises two or three sickly pigs. That's all he does. He makes no effort to improve anything. When a part of his shack falls down, he simply props it up with a stick. When, by afternoon, he's hoed his little patch of corn, he comes to the house, sits down in the doorway, takes out his *pipa* (pipe) and smokes as long as he likes.

Woman, student, 21 years old:

I live near the railroad station. What we think of as a *caipira* is a person who comes in from the "interior" and goes either to a charity hospital or to the police station. He is dressed in a cheap, cotton suit and wears high shoes; he is dirty from the dust of travel and he carries a sack instead of a suitcase.

Man, lawyer, 35 years old:

A *caipira* is a mixed-blood of Portuguese and Indian extraction.

<sup>24</sup> An inhabitant of the city of São Paulo.

<sup>25</sup> An inhabitant of the city of Rio de Janeiro and the surrounding portion of the Federal District.



Woman, primary-school teacher, 27 years old:

A *caipira* is anyone from the "interior," whether he lives in a small town or in the country.

Woman, cashier, 25 years old:

The *caipira* is a man who in Europe would be called a peasant, a worker of the land. He is indolent, undernourished, in ill health and, usually, illiterate.

Man, student, 21 years old:

A *caipira* is a person in the "interior." He lives like one ought to live. He is easily satisfied. Resigned by nature, he cultivates a little patch of land, planting only what he needs to live on. His pipe is his inseparable companion, and also his *valdo*. He does not covet riches.

Man, clerk, 25 years old:

The *caipira* is a man in the country who is respectful and hardworking.

Housewife, 50 years old:

A *caipira* is a person from the woods, without schooling; but he is sincere and there is no guile in him.

Apparently, the country people have always thought of themselves as *caipiras*. The disparaging significance now given to this term by many inhabitants of the city, however, is becoming known in the country and increasingly is resented as unfair and undeserved and consequently is used less and less. Local inhabitants defend themselves upon this point. "Among us *caipiras*," said a villager, "one finds a few persons who are crude, but he also finds many who are well brought up and who know how to treat people." "A person may be a *caipira*," said a local farmer, "but he can see who knows how to treat other people and who doesn't. Why, there are *caipiras* here who could give lessons to many persons in the city on how to treat folks."

A village leader explained:

The *caipira* is very shy. It's for this reason that when a person comes to his home the first time, he doesn't make him at home in his house. But he has a good heart. He acts a bit queer, but it's not because he's bad. It's just that he doesn't know what to do when it's a person he's never seen before. He doesn't know very much and this makes him *desconfiado*. He is like a deer: the deer is going about his business, he suddenly sees something and is frightened, he starts running and doesn't stop until he's a long way off; then he comes back slowly to see what it was that startled him. That's the way a *caipira* is. If someone makes him a proposition and he doesn't understand it, he puts him off until tomorrow or some other day, until he can figure it out; then he decides.

Occasionally, a local inhabitant takes delight in a characteristic shown by someone in the community which belies the disparaging meaning given the term. One often hears the remark, "He is a *caipira sabido* (clever, sharp)." Of an especially shrewd business deal on the part of a local farmer, a villager remarked, "Artur is a *caipira viajado* (one who has been around, knows his way about). He's a *caipira* who 'cuts from both sides'; no one catches him unawares. In this world, he who walks least, flies."<sup>28</sup> "He is a *caipira* 'of little time,' (one who catches on quickly)," remarked a villager of a friend. "He treats me like I was a *caipira*," said a village storekeeper of a traveling salesman. "I am a *caipira* but I can tell the difference between what is true and what is false. He thinks he'll carry me away with his big talk. I go along, along, up to the point where it is to my interest to follow him. After that, the sauce is different." "They say I'm a stupid *caipira*," said a young man in the village of persons in a neighboring town, "and that anyone can easily fool me. I'll show them what a *caipira* really is" (said with an air of defiance).

At the same time, the country folk tend to think of themselves as superior in several ways to the inhabitants of the city. For one thing, they regard the *cidadão* as less virtuous. "People in the city," said a young farmer, "are very false. You can't trust anybody and nobody will trust you." "Us *caipiras*," said a farmer, "don't live talking about what we are going to do; when we give our word, we stand back of it." "My granddaughters," said a farm woman, referring to the children of a daughter who had married and gone to live in the city, "spend a lot. When they see someone buy something, they have to have the same thing. Such extravagance!" The person from the city is considered to be less able or willing to work hard. "When my granddaughters come to visit me," said the same farm woman, "they don't want to do anything. I say to them, 'Come help us plant' or 'There's beans there to be threshed.' But they don't care to work. They're afraid they'll get calluses on their hands." "People in the city," complained a farm woman, "are too *sobrinho*" (haughty, given to looking down upon

<sup>28</sup> "That is," the informant further explained, "everyone is taking as much advantage as he can of everyone else and, consequently, everyone must be on his guard."



one). Local residents take pride in their greater knowledge of field and forest and in their ability to deal with the latter. "When *cidadões* get here in the woods," said a villager who likes to hunt, "they are completely lost. If you was to leave one there in Paió Veio,<sup>209</sup> he'd be dead before you knew it." Life in the city is thought to reduce masculine qualities. "Men in the city have such fine little hands," said a villager. "To take hold of one of those fellows' hands is just like taking hold of a woman's. They're all the same." Local residents think of themselves as more healthy. "Those people in the city," remarked a young farmer, in a scornful tone of voice, "who always live in the shade; they can't be healthy. It's better to be black<sup>210</sup> and dried out like I am and never need a doctor." "These people in Boa Vista," remarked another villager, "haven't they seen that us *caipiras* around here are all he men!"

Inhabitants of the community, however, are beginning to take over the disparaging meaning of the term *caipira* and to use it for their own purposes in their own society. Two villagers, for instance, were discussing a matter in a *dotequim* when one of them raised his voice a little and said, "You must remember you're a *caipira*!" The accompanying facial expression and other mannerisms, however, indicated that the remark was not designed to offend but only to call attention to the fact that the other man, by reason of his lack of knowledge of the outside world, was not in a position to make the dogmatic remark he had just made. "Quê!" said a farmer, in criticism of a villager, "He's a *caipira* just like we are. But he thinks he's not." The term is also employed by villagers, especially the more competent persons, to distinguish themselves from less able persons in the surrounding country who are extremely shy and do not know how to conduct themselves when in the village. "These people who never go any place," said a man, "these *caipiras* who live there in the woods and never go out, they're the real *caipiras*, people who can't even talk to anyone else. They live all their lives in one place, no wonder." "A *caipira's* like that," remarked a villager of a man on a farm who had behaved in a manner of

which he disapproved, "he never knows how to treat another person." "A *caipira* is certainly a brutish fellow," remarked another villager in a similar situation, "at the least little thing, *va fazeno desaforo* (he shows lack of consideration, intentional or unintentional)."

The dissatisfaction with life on the farm which was evident from the remarks of the young men cited in the section on Decline of Agriculture (p. 74) is by no means universal in the community. While lamenting the hard work, long hours, and crop uncertainties, most local inhabitants find that the satisfactions of farm life overbalance the drawbacks. This fact is reflected in the following remarks:

#### A farm boy, age 15:

Life is good on the farm. I like it here. I'm going to plant a large patch of maize. When you see maize growing, strong and healthy, it makes you happy.

#### A farm boy, age 18:

Life on the farm is fine, especially at harvest time. Then the farmer is content. Spring also is a very beautiful season, when the meadows are covered with flowers and the birds sing so sweetly. If you want to enjoy it, though, you must get up early. If you don't you will miss it all; when the sun begins to get hot, the flowers droop and the birds stop singing. Farm life is a good life, if you are not afraid of getting up early.

#### A farm boy, age 15:

Farming is a good life, even though you have to work hard. You always have your own food. You can plant beans, rice, potatoes, sugarcane, peanuts, coffee, and vegetables, and then you will need to buy very little.

#### A farm boy, age 19:

Life on the farm is better than life in the city because if you have to wear patched clothes and if your house is not furnished as well as you would like it to be, no one will talk about you. Besides, on the farm you can take your gun and go hunting whenever you like.

#### A farm boy, age 14:

I like life on the farm because here you can breathe pure, fresh air. In the city, there is so much noise that anyone who isn't used to cars and trucks whizzing by, soon gets dizzy. In the city, you go to buy a bunch of vegetables and they're all wilted; you get a dozen eggs and when you break one, it pops with such a noise that it breaks your ear drums. You can't find a good house to live in without paying out almost all you can earn to rent it, and you even have to buy water. If you stop somewhere to get a cup of *café* you have to pay half a *cruciro* for a little cup only 3 fingers high. One cupful isn't enough; they're too small. So you have to buy three more cupfuls and spend at least two *cruciros*. You go to a

<sup>209</sup> An uncultivated area near the river, overgrown with brush and vines and much used for hunting by local inhabitants.

<sup>210</sup> The man in question is a Canadian. Reference is to the heavy tan acquired by working for years under the rather direct rays of the sun in this latitude.



miserable place to get a meal and you have to pay an awful price and even the water is bad. Yes, life on the farm is much better.

Similarly, most inhabitants of the community who either have been in the city or have heard about it, prefer the simple life of the country to the more exacting life of the city. The wife of a village official recalls:

Seventeen years ago, when I was first married—I was about 10 years old at the time—I spent 6 months in São Paulo. My husband had been called up for military training. I managed to stick it out that long, but it was hard to do. I didn't like anything about the city. As soon as I could, I got in a truck and came straight home. And I've never returned to São Paulo since that day.

#### Said a midwife:

Every 3 or 4 years, or thereabouts, I visit my relatives in São Paulo. But I never can get used to the city. I can't bear to stay there more than a day. The weather is better here. The water is fresher; it's not like that water in the city that comes out of pipes and sometimes they put something in it. If you go to a village store and you don't have the money to pay for something you need, the storekeeper gives it to you just the same; but if you go to the market in the city and ask for something and you haven't any money to pay for it, just see if they'll let you have it! The only power there is the *crusairo*. In the country, no one is in actual want. Every time I go to São Paulo, I take milk to my relatives; I have a niece there who says that the milk in the city has the smell of urine in it. When I go to get the train at the station to come home, I see those long lines of people waiting to buy bread, or to buy meat. What have they done with all the flour and all the meat? The sharks<sup>22</sup> must have taken over the Government. I don't see how those people in the city can have that much patience. Flour is 12 *crusairos* a kilo. How can poor people buy it?

"There in São Paulo," said a farm woman, "people are tramping around in the street the whole night through. A terrible lot of racket. Not to speak of Sundays, when it's still worse." "When he has to go even to Boa Vista," said a woman in the village of her father who cannot bear to be away from the farm, "he never stays over night. He says he can't sleep with the noise in the town."<sup>23</sup> How that is, I don't know; he's deaf." "My niece tells me," said another farm woman, showing great satisfaction and a certain pride, "that there in São Paulo the moon doesn't even shine; you can't see it for the lights. But here in the country, the moonlight is so clear and fine."

"Here in the country," said a young farm woman, "you don't even have to think. But there in the city, everything is so difficult."

A villager whose wife had been taken to a hospital in São Paulo for an emergency operation, remarked after her return, "If she hadn't gotten back pretty soon, she would have died. She couldn't sleep in the city. After the operation, she stayed a few days on *Voluntários da Pátria* street with a street-car passing up and down in front of the house, all that terrible rumble and clatter." "I hear," said a woman in the village who had never been to São Paulo, "that the coming and going of people and cars and trucks there in the city is something awful." "A bird doesn't forget its old nest," remarked a man in the village. "You get used to it. When I've been to Sorocaba or São Paulo and I'm on the way back, up there on the ridge (a high point from which one can overlook a considerable part of the community) *já respiro mais fundo, me dá mais parpito de comê, fico mais alegre* (already I'm beginning to breathe deeper, my appetite is better, I feel happier)."

#### CONVERSATION GROUPS

In the evening, between about 5 and 8 o'clock, the men in the village, together with a few farmers, customarily gather in small groups for conversation. This activity takes on something of a regular and consistent pattern so far as the place of gathering is concerned, as well as the composition of the respective groups. No women or girls ever join these groups at any time.

There are three principal gathering places. One of these is the *venda* of Seu Sebastião, where the *homens mais ponderados*, as they are called, come together for conversation. They ordinarily are older men, those who are said to be "more thoughtful, more careful in weighing their words, more reflective, more deliberate." The group almost invariably includes the owner of the store, a man well-liked and respected and a leader in all communal undertakings; the village registrar, a man 57 years old, who carries himself with dignity and self-respect and who also is well thought of in the community; a tall, athletic Negro who is foreman of the men working on the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village; an able man who is building a road on the same *fazenda* over which to haul out the wood being cut by a crew

<sup>22</sup> In Brazilian slang, "the profiteers."

<sup>23</sup> Population, 5,367.



of woodcutters; and four or five farmers or other villagers of similar age and competence. Among the subjects most often discussed are various aspects of local politics; activities connected with farming, the cutting of timber and the building of roads; and the possibility of a rise or fall in the price of farm products. Humorous anecdotes also are told and polite joking is indulged in.

A second group gathers regularly at the principal *botequim*, where drinks are sold and tables are available for card playing. The composition of this group also is rather stable. It differs from that at the *venda* of *Seu Sebastião* in that there always are more young men than older men present. It also differs in that almost never are any of the village leaders to be seen here; while there usually are present in the group the three men who are especially noted for their consumption of alcoholic drinks. There is considerable drinking and gambling. Most of the men spend the time they are here playing cards; one day they will play *truco*, another day *bisca*, another day *escopa*. Communication is not of the sustained variety like that at the *venda* of *Seu Sebastião*. It consists principally of exclamations or single phrases. Complete sentences are rare. There is much laughing and joking. Voices often are raised suddenly, sometimes simultaneously from two or more tables where games are in progress. Few anecdotes are told. Hilarity is ordinarily occasioned by the unusual behavior of someone who has been drinking rather freely. Sometimes, a *chorinho*<sup>22</sup> forms here, composed usually of three young men playing, respectively, a *cavaquinho*, a *violão*, and a tamborine, and music will be added to the excitement of playing cards, gambling, and drinking with one's friends.

A third group gathers at the bakery. Its composition is also relatively constant. Those present are almost always boys and young men between 15 and 30 years of age. Rarely is an older man to be seen in the group. Although liquor is also sold at the bakery, there is little drinking. Conversation is more sustained than at the *botequim*; less sustained than at the *venda* of *Seu Sebastião*. Among the topics of conversation most frequently touched upon are women, soccer, and hunting, in that order. Other subjects heard being discussed include mili-

tary service, drinking, a coming *feita*, the raising of song birds, and the ability to drive a truck. A *chorinho* forms here more often than at the *botequim*, usually composed on each occasion of the same four young men, who occasionally are joined by those who customarily play at the *botequim*.

Similar groups do not form at either of the other two *vendas* or at the second *botequim*. Although a few men sometimes may be seen standing or talking at each of these places, the composition of the respective groups is more variable and the time of their forming is more irregular.

On Saturdays and rainy days, the principal points of reunion are the same as those in the evening. On Saturdays, the regular members of the different groups usually are joined by several farmers and their older sons who have come to town to make weekly purchases. On rainy days, the men are together most of the day. That night, however, the stores and *botequins* are closed earlier than on other days, usually by 6 or 7 o'clock.

On Sundays, three additional groups customarily form during the day. One of these is to be seen conversing in front of the door of the church, especially at the termination of Mass; another at the *corêto*, or *sapé*-covered shelter with a raised platform (pl. 19, a), in the square in front of the church; and the third in front of the *venda* of the Japanese storekeeper. By evening, however, these groups have broken up and the same pattern prevails as on week days.

The periodic renewal of the communal life is symbolized on Sunday in the number of persons to be seen on village streets. During the week, except on days of *feita*, and at the time when the bus goes through, the streets are almost deserted, the number of persons to be seen in any one street at any one time being quite negligible. On Sunday, however, the situation changes. Beginning shortly after daybreak, several persons may be seen in the streets. The number gradually increases up to a maximum at midday, remains rather stable through the early afternoon, and declines as night approaches. This "pulsation" in the community's life is evident in a count of persons seen during 2-hour intervals from daylight to dark on a recent Sunday. It was made from the window of a house in the village, whence the principal street and a part of the *praça* could be seen. The count was as follows:

<sup>22</sup> Also called *bafunda*.



	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Total
6:30-8:30	4	3	3	1	11
8:30-10:30	25	6	1	2	34
10:30-12:30	45	23	8	7	93
12:30-2:30	38	23	5	9	75
2:30-4:30	35	11	5	7	58
4:30-6:30	22	10	4	—	36

## LANGUAGE

The language spoken in the community is the *caipira* dialect of the Portuguese language. Indian languages which were once used in the area, first by the original inhabitants and later by Indians captured and brought in from other regions, together with any language which may have been spoken in the community by imported Africans, have completely disappeared, except for a few residual terms which presently will be noted.

The difference between the *caipira* dialect and the Portuguese spoken in the cities is such that persons, both in the city and among the *caipiras*, occasionally have some difficulty in understanding one another. The dialect differs from the Portuguese spoken in the cities in the following ways:

### 1. Variations in inflection and tone.

(a) The tendency is more pronounced for the voice to "rise" and "fall" periodically during the course of a sentence so that the sentence has a more rhythmical character.

(b) The tendency to terminate a sentence with a rising inflection is also more pronounced.

(c) The variation between individuals who customarily speak in a high, shrill voice, at times almost shouting, even when standing near the person spoken to, and those who habitually speak in low tones, is greater. This may in part be due to the nervous tension of one unaccustomed to the presence of strangers, as well as to individual or family differences, intensified by isolation and unmodified by training in either the home or school.

### 2. Alteration of sounds.<sup>24</sup>

(a) The sound of a letter or letters is sometimes added at the beginning of a word; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
afamoso	famoso
alembrado	lembrado
arreunido	reunido
esporte	porte
informado	formado

<sup>24</sup>Since the Portuguese language now has no silent letters, each letter employed having a readily determinable sound, these data have been retained in that language.

(b) The sound of a letter is sometimes added in the interior of a word; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
Arlindro	Arlindo
chefe	chefe
despois	depois

(c) The sound of an initial letter or letters is sometimes omitted; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
cabou	acabou
garrado	agarrado
ocê	cocô
peração	operação
rependimento	arrependimento
risipêla	erisipêla
tã	estã
tava	estava
tê	atê
teligencia	inteligência
ton	estou
vô	avô

(d) The sound of a letter or letters is sometimes omitted in the interior of a word; for example, *famita* for *faminta*.

(e) There is a tendency to omit the final *r* sound, especially of verbs, and to increase the stress on the preceding vowel; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
conviddá	convitar
famillá	familiar
ficá	ficar
ir	ir
lugá	lugar
morá	morar
pagá	pagar
qué	quer
quize	quizer
sê	ser
tê	ter
vê	ver
visitá	visitar
curadó	curador

(f) There is a tendency to omit the final *l*, *m*, or *n* sound; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
esmerl	esmeril
oficiá	oficial
quartê	quartel
taquarã	taquaral
terrivel	terrível
tropê	tropel
cô	com
corage	coragem
homê	homem
ordê	ordem
virge	virgem



<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
ante	antes
surrano	surranos
vano	vamos

(g) There is a tendency to retain only the *n* sound of an *nd* or *gn* combination of consonants, and only the *m* of an *md* or *sm* combination; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
brigano	brigando
conversano	conversando
deixano	deixando
falano	falando
ficano	ficando
lino	lindo
passano	passando
quano	quando
regano	regando
tamen	tambem
memo	mesmo

(h) A few ellisions are employed which are not used in the city; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
cos	com os
prela	para ela (by way of <i>pra ela</i> )
prele	para ele (by way of <i>pra ele</i> )
tudes	todos os

(i) There is a decided tendency to use an *r* sound instead of an *l* sound; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
Brasil	Brasil
mar	mal
metar	metai
pastar	pastel
peçoar	peçoal
quar	qual
sar	sai
sinar	sinal
argum	algum
arguem	alguem
argodão	algodão
arma	alma
armoço	almoço
arta	alta
assembrela	assembléia
calcula	calcula
caldo	caldo
clarão	clarão
claridade	claridade
claro	claro
culpa	culpa
culto	culto
difficuldade	difficuldade
especialmente	especialmente
esclarece	esclarece
falta	falta
mavado	malvado
palpite	palpite

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
perarta	peralta
praca	placa
sarvo	salvo
Sirvia	Silvia
sordado	soldado
surtão	sultão
frtina	última
vorta	volta

(j) The *i* sound is usually substituted for an *lh* sound; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
ataio	atalho
atrapalado	atrapalhado
fo	filho
oia	olha
olado	olhado
oreia	orelha
raio	ralho
trahalo	trabalho
vale	valho
velo	velho

(k) A *u* sound is often substituted for an *a* or *o* sound; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
caam	casam
começum	começam
disserum	disseram
forum	foram
gostum	gostam
pagum	pagam
viravum	viravam
vierum	vieram
engruvutado	engravatado
cum	com
cumo	como
cumpadre	compadre
mumjolo	monjolo

(l) In the case of words ending in *s* or *z* which are monosyllabic or whose accent falls on the last syllable, there is a tendency to pronounce the preceding vowel as if it formed a diphthong with *i*; for example,

<i>Caipira</i>	Portuguese
arrois	arroz
capais	capaz
cruis	cruz
deis	dez
fais	faz
luis	luz
mais	mas
meis	mês
nóis	nós
treis	três
veis	vez

(m) Certain sounds are transposed; for example,



Caipira	Portuguese
perclao	preciso
porgresso	progresso
proque	porque
praique	
sustifeito	sustifeito

(n) The sounds *b* and *v* are sometimes substituted for each other; for example, *brabo* for *bravo*; *beleza* for *baleza*; and *povre* for *pobre*.

(o) Other substitutions sometimes heard are an *um* sound for an *ão* (for example, *num* for *não*), an *ão* for an *om* (*bão* for *hom*), a *g* for an *a* (*guage* for *quase*), a *t* for a *c* (*atapora* for *catapora*), a *p* for an *f* (*pantasma* for *fantasma*), an *e* for an *a* (especially in the first person, plural of first conjugation verbs; for example, *andemo* for *andamos*), an *e* for an *i* (*ermã* for *irmã*, *deireito* for *direito*), and an *ai* or *au* for an *a* (*hai* for *ha*, *causo* for *caso*).

(p) In the case of many words, one notes a combination of two or more of the alterations mentioned above; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
advertisimento	divertimento
andemo	andamos
analfabeta	analfabeta
aprevenir	prevenir
arrepára	reparar
arrepartil	repartir
avistá	beirar
avistá	visitar
bamo	vamos
caçoamo	caçamos
conseia	aconselha
cordã	acordar
cavocamo	cavocamos
cheguemo	chegamos
creditã	acreditar
cumã	comer
deadeixã	deixar
desevolvê	desevolver
diantã	adiantar
figuemo	ficamos
frequentã	frequentar
inleição	eleição
judã	ajudar
lobishome	lobishomens
miô	melhor
mulô	mulher
nercargia	neuralgia
Nhã	Senhora (by way of <i>Sinhã</i> )
Nhô	Senhor (by way of <i>Sinhã</i> )
pescuemo	pescamos
quarquê	qualquer
rancã	arraucar

Caipira	Portuguese
sinificante	insignificante <sup>22</sup>
tano	estando
tavam	estavam
venzé	benzer

(q) Occasionally an accent is shifted; for example, *periôdo* for *período*.

### 3. Variations in the use of certain words and phrases.

(a) The use of exclamatory phrases is more extensive; for example, *Há sete ou oito ano começô a aumentã a festa de Boa Vista. É formidave, é colexso! Tudos nós aqui vamo. É coisa lindo!* (The festa of Boa Vista has improved in the last 7 or 8 years. It's wonderful, tremendous! All of us go. It's a beautiful thing!) There is an especial tendency to employ such phrases following the termination of a statement so as to emphasize what has just been said; for example, *Ele tava embriagado, bebido!* (He was drunk, drunk!); *Muiô sozinho é muito custoso, muito custoso!* (For a woman to live alone, it is very difficult, very difficult!). The exclamatory phrase is pronounced with considerable stress. Moreover, several exclamations, although common also to speech in the city, are much more used by the *caipiras*; for example,

Capals!	E-e-ê!
Chê!	Ô-ô!
Chill!	Quã
Credô!	Tã sorto! (está solto!)
Deus me livre!	Uai!
	Uê!

(b) There is a more decided tendency to use vivid or picturesque words and phrases, expressions like the following being relatively common:

*Num dá camisa pra ninguém* (It doesn't give anybody a shirt.)

*Quano sae da linha, a cinta canta no lombo* (When he gets out of line, the strap sings on his loins).

*O boi quano tá sozinho se lamba todo e quando ele tá em baixo da canga num pode se lambê* (When the ox is free, he can lick himself; but when he is under the yoke, he cannot), used to compare an unmarried, with a married, man.

*Nóis num andamo na mema pinguela* (We don't walk on the same log [across a stream]), used to signify that two individuals do not get along with each other.

<sup>22</sup> Thus reversing the meaning of the word, insignificant becoming significant.



Seguimo o mesmo terço (We pray the same prayer), used to indicate similar behavior.

Troper (Clatter of a horse's hoofs), used to refer to the sound of rain falling.

Tanto falta o mundo virá pra cima ou pra baixo (It doesn't matter if the world goes up or down), used to indicate indifference or resignation.

Ele não dá ponto sem nó (He doesn't take a stitch without tying a knot), used to signify crafty behavior.

Porco se acostuma cõ a sujeira do chiqueiro (A pig gets used to the filth of his pen).

Passá o preto no branco (To put the black on the white; that is, to write).

(c) Certain idiomatic expressions vary from those used in the city; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
mais bem	melhor
mais bom	melhor
mais pouco	menos
a que feito anda	que está fazendo; que tem feito

(d) Certain words and phrases are employed with meanings different from those in the city; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
defesa	meios para evitar a concepção de filhos
máquina	automóvel (not used for caminhão)
nervosa (used as noun)	medo
regulamento	menstruação
tiranía	maldade
uns par de	alguns
a maior força	a maioria
(farta de) respiração	(falta de) ar
(é) quatro pan	distingue-se na atividade de que se fala
abusá	fazer pouco de, ou insultar, poderes sagrados
atropelá	mandar embora, expulsar, escorraçar
hardená	transportar de um lugar para outro
chaviá	fechar a chave
debandá (used of as few as two persons)	debandar (used only of a number of persons)
fala	expor
festa	divertir-se em festas
pará	ficar, permanecer
pinchá (apinchá)	atirar fora, jogar
queimá	enguarar, mentir
representá	aparentar, parecer
pará com	hospedar-se com
andá fino	andar bem vestido, bem arranjado
atrazá a vida	trazer má sorte

<sup>222</sup> Analytically correct.

Caipira	Portuguese
dá obediência	ser obediente
desmanchá o intestino	dar diarreia
fazê paziguão	apaziguar
morrê malado	ser assassinado
tê mais pensamento	pensar melhor
faula	filho
daninha	traquinas
iteira	namorada
liberto	independente
liso	que atrai bem
suficiente	(dóneo, capacitado, sério, honesto)
(tempo mais) ladino	(tempo mais) adiantado
de condição ruim	ruim de nascimento
bebido	bebado
compreendido	entendido, senhor do assunto
dermanchado das feição	com as feições transtornadas
sem quantia	não tem comparação
tá desmanchado	está encenando, está com defeito
cô a cara meio cheia	um pouco embriagado
(é) fazenda fina	(é) prestimosa, bem educada
(é) fim de mundo	(é) formidável
(é) uma marmelada	(é) muito camarada, muito bom
(é) um tiro	(é) infalível

#### 4. Grammatical inaccuracies.

(a) There is often a lack of agreement in number between nouns (especially collective nouns) and verbs and their modifiers; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
os mandamento	os mandamentos
os otro	os outros
os suntu	os santos
uns tempo	uns tempos
umas vertige, uns ataque	umas vertigens, uns ataques
duzentos reis	duzentose reis
vinte caminhão	vinte caminhões
os nervo abalado	os nervos abalados
eles chora	eles choram
eles cai	eles caem
nós num era	nós não éramos
nós se trata	nós nos tratamos
o pessoal foram	o pessoal foi
os home diz	os homens dizem
a turma pularam	a turma pulou
as moça vão	as moças vão

(b) The substitution of one pronominal form by another often occurs; for example,

Caipira	Portuguese
aconsehei ele	aconsehei-o
ele queria eu	ele me queria
Maria, me socorra eu!	Maria, socorra-me a mim!



(c) The particle *se*, employed in passive constructions, is sometimes omitted, thereby altering the meaning of a sentence; for example, *É um brejo que não vê o fim* (It is a marsh which sees no end) for *Lá é um brejo de que não se vê o fim* (It is a marsh of which one cannot see the end).

(d) Adjectives modifying nouns of feminine gender are often given the masculine ending; for example,

a gente tá resfriado  
ela ficou ali tudo encolhido, muito envergonhado  
a crina tá tudo emaranhado

(e) Prepositions are sometimes omitted and sometimes added; for example, *Num posso dizê certeza proque num sei* (*Não posso dizer com certeza porque não sei*); and *é de a cavalo* instead of *ir a cavalo*.

The influence of the school upon the dialect is quite limited, as also is the more erudite speech of the *padre* and of a few other persons from the outside world. Apparently, the principal effect of the school in this respect is to produce in the child a new vocabulary, one which shows up only in writing. A young man in the village said:

I talk *caipira* just like everyone else here. I say *bomo* and *nôis*. Ever since I was a baby, I've heard people speaking that way and I've got used to doing it too. But I know how to write those words; they should be *vamos* and *nós*. All of us who've gone to school know that. But the teacher shows you how to write, never how to talk. She doesn't say anything when you speak as you shouldn't; but if you write a word wrong, she corrects you.

A considerable number of words of Indian origin are commonly employed in the speech of the community. Most of these are either place names or refer to animals, birds, fish, or plants common to the region. An occasional term refers to articles in daily use. Words of presumably undoubted Guaraní origin, since they are listed by Ruiz de Montoya (1639) in his seventeenth century manuscript on the Guaraní language, include:

ana, species of bird (42).<sup>227</sup>  
aracá, a wild fruit (65).  
araticum, a wild fruit (66).  
bolcará, coral snake; from *mboi* (215) and the Portuguese word, *coral*.  
cará, a tuber (89).

catetó, wild pig; from *taitetó* (353).  
cipó, wild vine (94);<sup>228</sup> employed more especially to refer to certain vines used to tie the objects together.  
cupim, termites (108); also the "ant hill" formed by termites.  
guassú, suffix meaning *large* (128).  
icá, female *santa* ant used for food (172).  
nhambú, species of bird; from *Ynambú* (175).  
ita, rock (178); used as prefix in place names.  
jacá, large basket, made of *taquara*; from *taqua* (165).  
jacaré, crocodile (185).  
jacó, species of bird (185).  
mandi, species of fish (205).  
mirim, suffix, meaning *small* (222).<sup>229</sup>  
parnambú, butterfly; from *parandú* (201).  
piatote, from *piá* (288), affectionate term for a son or daughter, and the Portuguese diminutive, etc.  
piquirá, species of fish (378).<sup>230</sup>  
pira, a prefix; from *pirá*, fish (297).  
sahá, species of bird; from *haddia* (136).  
tamanduá, ant eater (353).  
taquára, native species of bamboo; from *taquá* (355).  
tató, armadillo (358).  
tucano, species of bird; from *tued* (400).  
turumá, species of palm, *Astrocaryum vulgare* (400); also *tucum*, fiber from this palm.  
urú, species of bird (406).

Additional terms used in the community which other authors<sup>231</sup> have considered to be derived either from Guaraní or the related Tupí, include:

arapuca, a trap made of *taquara*, used for catching game birds and small animals.<sup>232</sup>  
cambará, a variety of wood.  
colvara, partially burnt brush and small saplings left after a piece of land has been burnt over.  
coati, species of animal.  
cotia, species of animal.  
curiango, species of bird.  
encôe, double; used to refer to two bananas (or other fruit) enclosed in a single skin; from *mocóy*, two, twice.<sup>233</sup>  
gibela, python.  
jararaca, species of snake.  
maracujá, a variety of wild fruit (passion flower).  
passoca, a food made by mixing crushed peanuts with maize meal.  
picuman, soot, mixed with grease.  
sapé, a coarse grass used for thatching.  
sururoca, large sieve, made of *taquara*.  
tapera, abandoned dwelling which is falling into decay.  
tiguera, a field after a crop has been harvested, full of weeds and other natural vegetation.

<sup>227</sup> Ruiz de Montoya, 1878-80.

<sup>228</sup> Ruiz de Montoya, 1878.

<sup>229</sup> Ruiz de Montoya, 1878-80.

<sup>230</sup> Anchieta, 1595; Beaufort-Rohan, 1889; Ayrosa, 1938; Figueiredo, 1939; Lacerda, 1880, 1881.

<sup>231</sup> See The Arapuca (p. 83) and plate 20, c, d.

<sup>232</sup> Anchieta, 1595, pp. 8-10.

<sup>233</sup> Numbers given in parentheses refer to the page in Montoya 1639, unless otherwise indicated. The meaning given is the present meaning in the community. For further identification of several terms, see Wildlife, p. 17.



During the course of this study, there were collected 109 other terms commonly used in the community and 32 place names, all of which would appear also to be derived from Guarani or the related Tupi, although their origin may not yet be clearly established.

A few terms in common use are probably African in origin, their number being much smaller than those derived from Indian languages. One of these is a place name: *Mombaca*. Other terms include:

- bumbo, a large drum, used in the *samba*;
- bunda, buttocks.
- cabugo, slang phrase for "hymen."
- catinga, unpleasant odor (also used as verb).
- fubá, maize meal.
- mandinga, black magic.

The sexual vocabulary employed in the community is extensive, reflecting the prominence which sexual ideas, attitudes, and behavior assume in the life of the inhabitants. Seventy words and phrases of a slang character employed with sexual connotation were noted being used by men in the community. Among these words and phrases were 11 terms for the penis, 6 for the vagina, 5 for the scrotum, 4 for the hymen, and 2 for the anus. There are 3 words and 3 phrases used to refer to the sex act. There are 6 terms for a prostitute, 1 for masturbation, 3 for a man "whose thought and action is dominated by sex," 4 terms for a "passive" homosexual, 1 for an "active" homosexual, and an additional term to refer to both types. Six phrases refer to pregnancy; two to puberty in the female; two to strong sexual desire in the female, and two to female frigidity; and one each to a woman "of easy virtue," the act of seeking a sex partner, and a "sexually attractive" woman. Of these slang terms and phrases, it is probable that 10 are of Indian, and 2 of African, origin.

A number of gestures are commonly employed in the community. Shrugging one or both shoulders may mean *Que me importa?* (What is that to me?), *Isso não me atinge* (I haven't anything to do with that), *Ele que se arranje* (It's up to him), *Fazer o que?* (There's nothing else to be done!), or *Estou farto disso!* (I'm fed up with that!); in other words, it may signify resignation, refusal to assume responsibility, or irritation. Affirmation is indicated by a nod, and negation by

a shake of the head. An object is singled out by pointing to it with the index finger, while the other fingers are flexed. Height is indicated by holding the hand at the distance in question from the ground, palm downward and with the fingers extended. A given number is denoted by holding up one's hand toward the person with whom one is communicating and extending as many fingers as correspond to the number. Either the palm or the back of the hand may be turned toward the person although, when the number is five, the former position is more common. In case the number is more than five, the movement is repeated as many times as necessary.

Other gestures are commonly used in the community to signify:

*Eating* (raising the right hand in front of the mouth, palm inward, and opening and closing the hand several times).

*Drinking* (repeatedly raising and lowering the right hand in front of the face, with fingers flexed and thumb extended in the direction of the mouth).

*"Come here!"* (extending the right hand toward the person in question, palm either inward or outward, and opening and closing the hand rapidly).

*"Go away!"* (holding the arm downward, with the palm toward the body and fingers extended, and pivoting the hand at the wrist, forcefully and repeatedly pushing the fingers outward toward the person in question).

*"Somebody took it"* (placing the thumb of the right hand on a plane surface and pivoting the hand to the right, while closing the fingers).

An obscene gesture employed locally is similar in form to that with a different meaning developed during World War II among air force personnel in the United States. A circle is made with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. Reference is to the anus and "passive" participation in a homosexual act. A similar gesture, known as the *banana*, consists in placing the wrist of the right arm in the bend of the flexed left arm. Reference is to the male sexual organ and "passive" participation in a homosexual act.

*Old!* is used to call to someone whose attention one desires to attract, as also are *Psiu!* and *O-o-o-o!*



## ETIQUETTE

The intimacy characteristic of contacts in the community is evident in the informality with which villagers and farmers greet each other when they meet. No one shakes hands and the greeting common to more formal contacts, "*Bom dia!*" (Good morning!) or "*Boa tarde!*" (Good afternoon!) is rarely used. Such behavior is reserved for encounters with strangers where relations are not of this intimate and primary character.

To pass an acquaintance, however, without a word, a smile, or other gesture indicating that his presence is noted and appreciated, is a grave offense. Usually, one stops to chat a while before continuing on his way. A remark may be made about the weather, or regarding the reason for being at that place at that hour, or something equally banal. This is always accompanied by a smile or other pleasant expression.

Upon meeting a stranger for the second (or any subsequent) time during the same day, the full greeting of "*Bom dia!*" or "*Boa tarde!*" is substituted by one of four expressions: "*Olá!*", "*Olá!*", "*Sim, senhor!*" (Yes, sir!), or "*Nhê sim!*"<sup>22</sup> Not until the following day is the original greeting used again.

The *abraço*, which is quite common to Brazil, is rarely seen here. It consists in a hearty embrace which may immediately be repeated once, twice, or more times and accompanied by vigorous pats on the back. It is used upon meeting a relative or intimate friend, especially of the same sex. It is particularly forceful and lengthy upon the occasion of setting out or returning from a journey. At weddings, it is customary for the bride and groom to receive either an *abraço* or a handshake from all persons present, especially relatives and close friends.

Throughout the community, the tendency is to call a person by his first name or nickname; rarely is the surname used except to distinguish between two or more persons with a common first name, or on formal occasions such as those when a document is being signed, a marriage performed, or a birth registered.

Both respect and social distance are symbolized in the use of *senhor* and *senhora*. Children employ these terms when addressing their parents as well as older relatives and godparents.<sup>23</sup> A wife whose husband is much older than she is may call him *senhor*, as was observed in a case where the woman is approximately half the age of her husband. A younger person may be addressed as *senhor* if he has high prestige and especially if the person addressing him is a woman. At the same time, a stranger with whom one is dealing in a formal way is also addressed as *senhor*.

The use of *você* may reflect either intimacy with the person spoken to or his inferior status. As a stranger becomes a close friend, the change in relation is symbolized by a shift from *senhor* to *você* when addressing him. At the same time, a parent uses *você* to a child as do all older persons when speaking to younger persons in the family.<sup>24</sup>

The use of *mecê* implies a certain deference on the part of the speaker toward the person spoken to. The term is a simplification of *Vosmecê*, which in turn is a simplification of *vossemecê* and *Vossa Mercê* (Your Grace), a form of address no longer heard in urban areas. Its use may imply an actual difference in status, due to age, kinship relation, or other index of social position; or it may reflect the courtesy of the individual who thus, so to speak, reduces himself in rank in honor of the person to whom he is speaking. Whatever may have been the former extent of its use, the term would seem now to be reserved for occasions of extreme courtesy. It was noted being used by a young married man 32 years old when addressing his uncle, aged 62, a man widely respected in the village; by this older man himself, together with other local inhabitants of similar age, when speaking to a prestige-bearing person from outside the community; by a farmer when addressing a group of villagers in conversation at the village store; by men addressing their *compadres*; and by an elderly woman when speaking to her husband. Informants who were asked the meaning of *mecê* replied:

The newer ones (that is, the younger persons) use *mecê* when they speak to the older, the more aged.

For a *compadre* you use *mecê*. It shows great respect.

<sup>22</sup> In neighboring communities, where class distinctions are more apparent, servants so address their employers.

<sup>23</sup> In neighboring communities, where class distinctions are more apparent, *você* is always used when speaking to a servant.

<sup>24</sup> In the local dialect, *senhor* (*senhora*) is often pronounced *Nhô* (*Nhã*).



My mother taught me always to use *meu*, when speaking to older people.

A wife often refers to her husband as *meu velho*<sup>227</sup> (my old one), a term which reflects intimacy and affection. A few husbands, however, do not like to be so addressed.

When a godchild meets his godfather and godmother, he greets them by asking their blessing, a request which is repeated upon parting. The act ordinarily consists in facing the older person, putting the palms of the hands together in front of the chest as if in an attitude of prayer and saying, "*A bença*."<sup>228</sup> To which the godparent replies, "*Zabêncô*" (*Deus abençõe, Deusabençõe*).<sup>229</sup> Occasionally, however, the godchild merely takes the hand of the older person and kisses it, whereupon the latter gives him his blessing.

If the godchild and godparent meet more than once on the same day, the blessing is asked only on the occasion of the first meeting and parting. The act is repeated, however, regularly, as long as the parties to the relationship live. It is not rare to see adults, even persons 40 or 50 years of age, asking the blessing of a godparent.

If a godchild joins a group which includes a godparent without noting his presence or for any other reason fails to greet him, someone will soon say, "Don't you see your godfather (godmother)?" and the godchild shamefacedly will turn and ask the blessing. A similar expectation is laid upon a natural child with reference to his parents when, having for some time been away from home, he comes again into their presence. Formerly, this expectation appears to have extended to all younger persons when greeting older persons, especially relatives. Even today, a nephew or a niece will occasionally, upon meeting an aunt or uncle, ask his or her blessing, as also invariably will a grandchild upon meeting a grandparent. Children will sometimes greet an older acquaintance of their parents in the same way.

If a stranger inquires the name of a local inhabitant, the name may be given with the phrase *seu criado* (your servant) added.

When a guest indicates he is about to leave, it is good form for the host to say, "*É cedo; não vá ainda*" (It's still early; don't go yet.) It is expected that the guest will remain a while longer, the time involved sometimes being considerable. As a guest who had been visiting for more than 2 hours, for instance, indicated his intention of leaving a farm home, he was told, "You came only a little while ago and now you're leaving. It's too early. You must not go yet."

A characteristic local habit and, in fact, one that is general to Brazil, is for a person to belittle himself and that which is associated with him when speaking to a person who holds prestige in his eyes. This act is a part of the pattern of courtesy and hospitality. It is reflected in the following remark made to persons on the research staff engaged in this study: "Everything here is very ugly. For us, though, it's just like we like it. We are only *caipiras*."

It is common in this community, however, as in other parts of Brazil, for the speaker to refer to himself first when speaking of himself along with other persons. One does not hear, for instance, "he and I," "John and I;" invariably the expressions are, "I and he," "I and John." This form of speaking probably symbolizes the fact that the culture tends to foster rather than to restrain ego inflation.

Some parents do not like their children to smoke in front of the father, although this is done more often today than formerly. "My husband will not let the boys smoke in front of him," said a mother. "That doesn't show proper respect. He never smoked in front of his father."

Extending an invitation to a wedding, even if given orally, must be made the occasion of a formal call. A young man meeting another in the village remarked that he would like to speak to him, but only at his home. "It's not something I can talk about here in the street," he explained. Since his friend was busy at the time, however, and could not for some time return to his house, the young man said, "I just wanted you to come and take a beer at my wedding on the eighteenth. I'm not inviting you in the street, remember," he continued, apologetically, "I'll come up to your house later."

<sup>227</sup> Altered form of *meu velho*.

<sup>228</sup> A shortened form of "*Dê-me a sua benção, padrinho*" (Give me your blessing, Godfather).

<sup>229</sup> Corruptions of *Deus a bençõe* (God bless you).



Stores are expected to close when a procession passes, as also when a coffin is being carried by on the way to the cemetery.

At a dance, the use of a coat on the part of a man is obligatory; the use of a tie, however, as has been indicated,<sup>200</sup> is optional. Preceding and succeeding each dance, the men remain together on one side of the room and the women together on the other side. To arrange a partner, a man walks over and, stopping in front of the girl whom he wishes to invite, looks directly at her and mumbles a few words which are usually unintelligible. To refuse a request is a gross insult and may lead to violence. The girl leaves her place, dances with the man without conversing, and returns to her seat immediately the music terminates. Formerly, an engaged girl was always expected to dance only with the man to whom she was engaged, although he was in no way subject to the same restriction, a custom still largely adhered to, although now apparently beginning to change. Ordinarily, a wife still dances only with her husband, although the same restriction does not appear ever to have held for the man. There are occasional indications, however, that this restriction on the wife's behavior is also beginning to break down.

When villagers and farmers gather on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays in the village stores or in the *botequins*, the *tomar um gole de pinga* (taking a swallow of *pinga*), or *rodada* (treat), is a common practice which follows a set form. "*Bamo tomá uma coisinha?*" (Shall we take a little something?) one man says to a friend or two. "*Bamo!* (Lets!)," each replies. Coming up close to the counter, the one who is treating will say to the owner, "Put a little *pinga* there for us!" The owner sets a large glass on the counter and takes up a bottle of *pinga* and begins pouring into the glass, as he says, "Say when it's enough." "There, that's good," one of the men will say. The one who is "treating" then takes the glass and, addressing each person in turn in the store or *botequim* asks, "*Tá servido?* (Are you served?)," to which the expected answer always is "*Obrigado* (Thank you)." If, among the men present, in addition to those at the counter, there is a close friend of the man who is "treating," he will be

more insistent, "*Toma um gole, num jaga cerimonia!* (Take a swallow; don't stand on ceremony!);" to which the expected reply is, "Thank you very much, I've just taken a drop. *Que lhe faça bão proveito!* (May it do you good!)" After which, the man hands the glass to one of his friends standing with him at the counter and says, "You begin." "No, you first," is the expected reply. "Not at all! You begin!" says the one who is doing the "treating," as he puts the glass in the hand of his friend. The latter takes a swallow and passes the glass to another at the counter, if there be other men, and then the one who is "treating" also takes a drink.

The *virada*, or "taking of turns," also is a common practice with rigidly prescribed rules of etiquette. It is similar to the *rodada*, except that all persons present are involved. The *pinga* ordinarily is served in a glass which the storekeeper (or proprietor of the *botequim*) fills almost to overflowing. The man at whose initiative the *pinga* has been ordered will then pick up the glass from the counter and offer it to the man closest to him who, after a show of reluctance, gives in to the importuning of the donor, takes the glass, drinks a swallow from it and hands it on to the man nearest him. The glass then continues on around the room, each man putting it briefly to his lips and taking a swallow, until it comes once again to the man at whose initiative it was filled, who then "dries it up," in the words of local slang.

These *viradas*, in external appearance as well as in social function, are reminiscent of the handing around of the "common cup" in certain religious ceremonies in other communities. Both practices symbolize and reenforce the solidarity of the group. No restrictions of any sort are put upon participation. Everyone present, of whatever race, age, or social position, except small children, is expected to participate. "Good form" demands that the donor offer the glass with a show of hospitality and insistence. Actual refusal, except on grounds of known inability to participate by reason of illness or other excusable circumstance, is subject to disapproval. If the refusal occurs under conditions in which serious "loss of face" is implied for the donor, it becomes a serious offense and may even lead to violence. To a stranger who by chance may be present, the glass is also offered, although he is not expected to ac-

<sup>200</sup> See Dress, p. 48.



cept, probably because his failure to participate symbolizes a fact concurred in by all, namely, that he is not an integral part of the group.

To speak favorably of an object belonging to another person, and especially to praise it highly, is ordinarily interpreted as indicating a desire to possess it. A stranger once remarked favorably about the tanning of a goat skin hanging on the wall of a villager's house. The host immediately rose from his chair, took the skin from the wall, wrapped it up and gave it to his guest. The latter's protests were unavailing in the face of vigorous insistence that he carry the skin home. Another man in the village was proudly showing a visitor several old coins, one of which had been minted in the colonial era. When the guest evinced considerable interest in the coins, the host immediately said, "If you like them, you may have them," and presented the whole lot to the visitor. When the latter demurred, the villager insisted even more strongly, "Those coins aren't worth anything to me. Take them!" As the guest continued to insist that he could not accept the gift, the villager, with an air of finality, gathered up the coins and put them forcefully into the visitor's hand.

The giving and receiving of presents are also subject to clearly prescribed rules of etiquette. The manner in which the present is tendered may make the act either a friendly gesture or a serious offense. If the act accompanies circumstances considered natural by the group, it will be well received; if, on the other hand, the previous relation between giver and recipient is not thought to justify the gift, it may be considered an insult or at least a case of *pouco caso* (making light) of the other person.

Similar expectations accompany the doing and accepting of a favor. A villager voluntarily helped a stranger put a few sacks of grain in his truck, after which he joined a group of friends nearby with the satisfied air of one who had discharged well an obligation. When, however, the stranger, with a certain condescension, called to the villager, "Hey, you, there! Take this!" and shoved toward him a 5-cruzeiro note, the latter withdrew a bit, put his hands behind him and, in a voice in which indignation struggled with timidity, replied, "No, sir. Thank you. You don't need to do that." Turning his back on the stranger,

the villager remarked to a friend, "I don't have to accept charity. Did you notice his superior air? Thank God, I'm not crippled and can earn what I need."

The same villager, on another and similar occasion, voluntarily helped a man from Piracema unload his truck at the village store, in the rain, late one evening. When the truck was empty, the driver turned to the villager and said, "Let's take a little swallow," and, leading the way into the *venda*, he asked for a *rabo de galo* (literally, a rooster's tail; that is, *pinga* with vermouth). On being thus treated as an equal, the villager readily responded. After each had drained his glass, the driver asked the villager, "How much do I owe you?" "Nothing," was the reply, "I was just helping you out." "Then take this and get yourself a beer," said the driver, as he laid a 5-cruzeiro note on the counter. "Thank you, but you didn't need to," said the villager, as he took the note and put it in his pocket. The gratuity had been properly offered and accepted, in keeping with the local custom. Payment was indirect and over the necessary protests of the recipient.

The two incidents involved, in each case, a local resident and a person from outside the community. The same expectations, however, attach to similar relationships in which only members of the community are involved. An elderly villager, on an occasion when he had caught several *lambaris*, invited one of the storekeepers, whose financial condition was considerably above his own, together with another friend, to take dinner in his home. As a special treat, he had arranged for the meal two bottles of wine. The meal was a pleasant occasion and was partaken of in the midst of friendly conversation.

Afterward, however, the storekeeper, addressing himself to his host, remarked, "You, my friend, are a good man. You are giving us food—good food, with wine, and everything. You know how it is—I can't have you up to my house for a meal like this. Since my wife died, I'm alone there." The villager expressed his understanding and sympathy. The storekeeper then took out of his pocket two notes of 20 cruzeiros each and sought to place them in the pocket of his friend, as he remarked, in a hesitant voice, as if he realized that such a gesture was not in keeping with the local etiquette,



"This isn't to pay you, my friend! It's only a little present for you."

The face of his friend blanched. He indignantly grabbed the arm of the storekeeper and said, "Stop that, Sebastião! What are you doing? I offer you a dinner, as a friend, and you come to me with money! If some day I need money, I'll come to you for a loan!"

The storekeeper, however, insisted, "I'm not paying for the meal, my friend; I'm only making you a little present. A dinner like this can't be paid for in money." And with these words he made a second effort to stuff the bills into his friend's pocket. Whereupon his friend arose and with an air of finality, as if he would admit of no further discussion, shouted, "Sebastião, if you leave that money there, I'll have nothing more to do with you. Our friendship will be over."

At this remark, the storekeeper at once desisted and began profusely to beg the pardon of his friend, saying, "I meant no harm. Don't be angry with me. *Deus lhe pague* for the dinner, *Deus lhe pague*."<sup>21</sup> Cordiality was once more restored and the friends parted in peace.

#### THE CAFÉZINHO

The offering of a *cafézinho* to a visitor is a custom which is deeply embedded in local habits and follows a prescribed ritual. The term "*cafézinho*" is the diminutive and, in this case, the deprecatory form of *café*.<sup>22</sup> Its use thus belittles, as a courteous gesture to the guest, the size of the host's offering. It may, in fact, be far from a "little" serving; although the size will vary with the accommodations of the house, the cup offered may hold as much as half a pint. The *cafézinho* is served at any hour of the day or night when, for any reason, a visitor comes to the house. If he is in a hurry and makes a move to leave before he has been served, the host will usually say, "But you haven't had your *cafézinho* yet. Why are you in such a hurry?"

The guest is never asked if he wants a *cafézinho*; it is always assumed that he does. It is served by the wife or daughters of the host whom the visitor, if he be a man and unless he is intimately acquainted with the family, usually does not see until the host calls to them to bring the

*café*. It must be served in the best vessels the host possesses. These may be teacups, demitasse, or tin cans either in good condition or chipped, cracked, or dented; but they must be the best he owns. The *café* is served as the host is accustomed to take it, weak or strong, hot or lukewarm, unless the preference of the guest is known, when the host may say, for instance, as a mark of special courtesy, "I had more coffee put in than I usually do because you like it strong."

When the guest has finished his cup, the host will say, "Take more! If you like it, take more!" Courtesy demands that he insist upon this point and, if the guest desires especially to please his host, he will accept a second cup. At the same time, if the guest, upon taking a swallow from a first or subsequent cup should remark, "This *café* is very good; it is just to my taste," the implication is that he desires another cup. Otherwise, he will reply to the insistence of his host, "Thank you. The *café* is very good but I am satisfied."

The *cafézinho* symbolizes the hospitality of the host. It is a form of satisfying the obligation laid upon a man to give food and shelter to every guest whom he receives within his house. The *cafézinho* consequently is offered even upon the occasion of a brief visit, so that no one actually leaves the host's home without having partaken of at least something which has been given him with pleasure.

Offering a *cafézinho* may also serve to sound out the attitudes and intentions of a guest whom the host does not know. He puts the guest in contact with his *café*, his utensils, and the services of his family. By carefully noting the way in which the guest accepts the *cafézinho* and drinks the first and subsequent cups, he is able to obtain some conception of his intent.

If a person is received into a house and is not offered a *cafézinho*, it is clear that either he is a *persona non grata* in that house or that his host is "a crude boor" or a miser. So symbolic of a host's courtesy is the offering of a *cafézinho* that a common way to refer disrespectfully to a person is to say of him, "He wouldn't even give you a *cafézinho*."

Failure to show this courtesy, however, is rare. Even though a person may be extremely poor, he is almost never so lacking in good manners as to omit the *cafézinho*, except under special cir-

<sup>21</sup> God reward you.

<sup>22</sup> See Pingo, Tobacco, and Caffé, p. 41.



circumstances. In those cases in which the *cafézinho* is not offered, upon the occasion of a first visit, the caller usually is a person whose looks, dress, or action has evoked suspicion. To such a person, before he has even entered the house, the *caipira* may say, in a cold tone, "*Entre pra dentro, bomo chegã*" (Come inside), clearly implying to one who is acquainted with the local expectations, "Go on your way! I have other things to do besides entertaining you!" although the same words, spoken in a different tone of voice and accompanied by different gestures would indicate a high degree of favor, in that one's house was being placed at the disposal of the guest.

On the other hand, for a stranger to refuse a *cafézinho* that has been offered him is a serious affront. In a community where the drinking of *café*, as has been indicated, is a universal custom, no one is apt to believe that the refusal is due to an actual dislike for coffee. It can only be a *gesto de pouco caso* (an indication of disrespect). Subsequently, the occurrence will be commented upon all over the community in something like the following words:

He thinks our cups (or cans) are not good enough to put up to his mouth.

He is so used to luxurious things that he scorns what we have.

We offered him the best we had and he turned it down; he needn't come to our house any more.

Failure to accept a *cafézinho*, however, is excused under prescribed circumstances: when, for instance, the host knows the guest has been told by a physician not to take *café*; when the occasion is at night and the guest may say, "*Café* takes the sleep away from me"; or when it is known that the guest has recently taken something cold, like water or beer, which as an informant said, "Everyone knows should not be mixed with a hot drink like *café*." Even in such cases, however, the refusal must be made with tact; it must be accompanied by words and gestures which leave no doubt in the host's mind of the real motive for the refusal. The guest will ordinarily say, "Thank you very much, but \* \* \*; excuse me, next time I will."

If a fly or other extraneous object gets into the *cafézinho*, the guest must not by word or other gesture call attention to that fact. At all costs he must avoid embarrassment to his host. "If he stops drinking," an informant remarked, "the host

will ask what is the matter. Then he will examine the cup and discover the cause of the difficulty. And that would place him in a very embarrassing situation." Similar behavior is expected if the guest discovers that the host has forgotten the sugar, the only exceptions being in those cases in which there is a high degree of intimacy between host and guest.

The behavior expected with reference to the *cafézinho*, however, varies with certain circumstances. If the visitor is a relative or close friend, the host may say, "The *café* is there on the stove in the kitchen; when you want some, you know where to find it." If the visit occurs shortly before one of the principal meals of the day, the host will not offer a *cafézinho* because to do so might be interpreted as meaning that he is seeking to avoid inviting his guest to remain for a meal. If the host would like especially to impress a guest, he may offer him not only a *cafézinho* but also cake or other delicacies, have a tablecloth put on the table and otherwise show him special consideration. This behavior may also be employed, however, as an indirect and subtle means of rebuking a guest for not having treated the host as the host thought he should have been treated when he was a guest in his house.

#### MAKING PURCHASES

Since storekeeper and customer are almost always intimately acquainted with each other, transactions in village stores tend to be carried on under conditions of primary contact. This relationship is symbolized in one of the *vendas*, in the bakery, and in the principal *botequim* by the fact that there are no physical barriers in the form of closed counters between customer and storekeeper.

The etiquette of purchasing differs markedly from that ordinarily characteristic of the city. A storekeeper treats his customers much as if they were guests who had come to his house for a visit. After entering a store, a customer may seat himself on a bench or a sack of beans or similar object and remain for hours conversing with the owner and other men present. At first, the customer and the storekeeper usually ask about the health of the members of each other's family and about how their affairs are getting on, and then give themselves over with obvious satisfaction to dis-



cussing various topics of common interest. When conversation lags or the hour grows late, the customer will get up from his seat and ask the storekeeper for the articles he has come to purchase; or, if the owner is busy talking to someone else, he may go behind the counter and wait on himself.

If the transaction did not follow some such sequence, the customer would feel offended and subsequently buy his supplies elsewhere. The act of making a purchase is thus more a social, than a commercial, act; it is an extension of the pattern of visiting which is deeply embedded in the local mores.

Exceptional in the village is the procedure in the *venda* owned by the Japanese who, although now largely assimilated,<sup>232</sup> friendly in manner, and well liked, has not yet taken over what might be called the "visiting pattern" of commercial transactions. Between this storekeeper and his customers there does not yet exist the high degree of intimacy to be observed elsewhere. The relation has a more formal character, a fact which is symbolized by the closed counter in this store, effectively prohibiting the customer from serving himself.

The following incident reveals to some extent the lack of coherence between the expectations on the part of local inhabitants and the actual behavior of the Japanese storekeeper. One morning, a farmer known as Zé do Porto rode up to the *venda* and dismounted. He tied his horse securely to a nearby fence and entered the *venda* where he spoke to the storekeeper and then took a seat on a kerosene can near the counter. For a long time, no one spoke. At last, turning to the storekeeper who so far had made no effort to converse with him, Zé asked, "How goes it, Seu Antonio?"<sup>233</sup> "Not bad," was the reply, followed by another long period of silence. After a while, Zé do Porto got up, went outside and looked up and down the road as if hoping to see someone with whom he might converse. He leaned expectantly up against the jamb of the door and remained there for some time. At last, since no one had appeared, Zé went to his horse, took the *picuí*<sup>234</sup> from behind the saddle and reentered the

store. Laying the *picuí* on the counter, he said, "Give me a kilo of salt and half an *arroba* of sugar."

After the Japanese had weighed out the purchases, Zé put them into the *picuí* and, leaning up against the counter once more, waited expectantly. The storekeeper returned to his stool behind the counter. After about a half hour had passed, Zé turned to the storekeeper and said, "Put a drink there for us." The storekeeper got up and began to pour out the *pinga*, as he asked, "Five hundred *reis* or *destão*?"<sup>235</sup> "You can give us *destão*."

Zé took the glass and, in keeping with the local etiquette, turned to the storekeeper and said, "Are you served?" before drinking it at one gulp. He then continued leaning on the counter for a long time. Finally, he asked the storekeeper, "Do you have an empty bottle to carry kerosene in? I forgot to bring one." The Japanese brought a bottle out from behind the counter and asked, "Will this do?" "It will do," Zé replied, "I'll bring it back later." The storekeeper filled the bottle with kerosene and returned to his stool behind the counter. Several minutes later, Zé picked up the bottle, put it into his *picuí*, taking care to separate it from the salt and sugar he had previously purchased and saying, to no one in particular, "Kerosene has a terrible smell." After waiting a few more minutes in silence, he took up the *picuí* and with an "*Até logo!*" (So long!) to the storekeeper, to which he added, "I'll be going; I have to look after some pigs today," Zé climbed on his horse and left.

Approximately 2 hours had passed while Zé was making his simple purchases of salt, sugar, and kerosene. On the following Saturday, he was observed to be enjoying himself immensely at the principal *botequim*. He spent the day there, from 10 o'clock in the morning until 6:30 at night, talking with his friends, drinking an occasional glass of *pinga* and playing *truco*. At nightfall, as he climbed into the saddle of his horse, he gave every appearance of happiness and contentment.

<sup>232</sup> *Destão* is the local form of *dez tostões*, once used as a slang phrase to refer to the *milreis* and subsequently transferred to the *cruselo* when, in 1942, the *cruselo* became the unit of exchange in Brazil. The *centavo*, or the tenth part of a *cruselo* is now called a *tostão*, as was previously 100 *reis*, or the tenth part of a *milreis*.

<sup>233</sup> See Solidarity, p. 100.

<sup>234</sup> The Japanese has taken a Brazilian first name.

<sup>235</sup> A bag for carrying articles while on horseback or afoot. (See plate 2, f).



## THE FAMILY

In this community, individuals are bound together in families with tenacious bonds of belonging, obligation, and affection which, by way of interfamily marriage, extend throughout virtually the entire community.

In most cases, family units are composed merely of father, mother, and children. In many cases, however, an aunt, a grandmother, or a grandfather also lives in the household. The size of a family occupying the same house thus ranges from 2 persons (a man and his wife, without children) to 14 persons (a father, mother, their 11 children, and the father's mother). A few families are "joint families," three generations sometimes living together on the same farm, in two or three houses built close together. In each of the cases observed, with one exception, residence was patrilocal, the son bringing his wife to live on the farm of the father. In the exceptional case, not only had a married son brought his wife to live on the farm of the father but also a married daughter resided with her husband on the same farm. The family is ordinarily consanguineous. Occasionally, however, a godchild or other foster child may be reared in the family as an integral part of it. Organization is of the "patriarchal" type, the dominant status and authority of the husband and father being unquestioned. Descent ordinarily is reckoned through the father's line, although a child may elect to take also the mother's family name. At marriage, the wife takes the family name of her husband; in most cases, however, she precedes it with her own family name. Kinship is reckoned in keeping with European patterns and the terminology employed also is European.

The number of relatives personally known to each individual ordinarily is quite large. When asked to give the names of the members of her extended family who were known to her, a young farm woman, 24 years old, recalled without effort a total of 166 persons. This was done spontaneously, without previous consideration to the matter or subsequent consultation, during approximately 2 hours, while the young woman continued preparations for a meal and looked after the needs of her small children. The relatives in question were distributed as shown in the following tabulation:

*Number and relationship of members of extended family known to informant, Cruz das Almas, 1948*

Relation to ego:	Number
Father	1
Mother	1
Brothers and sisters	8
Father's father and mother	2
Mother's father and mother	2
Father's brothers and sisters	10
Mother's brothers and sisters	9
Father's father's brothers and sisters	3
Father's mother's brothers and sisters	7
Mother's father's brothers and sisters	4
Mother's mother's brothers and sisters	2
Mother's mother's father and mother	2
Children	3
Children of brothers and sisters	2
Children of father's brothers and sisters	28
Children of mother's brothers and sisters	32
Grandchildren of father's brothers and sisters	10
Grandchildren of mother's brothers and sisters	2
Husband	1
Spouses of brothers and sisters	2
Spouses of cousins	3
Spouses of uncles and aunts	16
Spouses of grandfathers' and grandmothers' brothers and sisters	15
Mother's father's second wife	1
Total	166

Of the 166 persons, the informant recalled both the given and family name, often including the middle name, for 139, of whom 118 were related to her by blood and 21 were persons who had married into the family. In 11 cases, the informant could not at the moment recall the name of a blood relative. Included were one of the nine children of one of her mother's brothers, one of the two grandchildren of another of her mother's brothers, one of the five children of one of her mother's sisters, and one of the five children of one of her father's sisters. In each of these cases, however, she was able to recall the names of all the other siblings. In 10 other cases, the informant remembered the given name but not the family name of a person who had married into the family; 4 of the 10 are deceased. In six other cases, she remembered the family name but not the given name of a person who had married into the family; all of the six are deceased.

Of the persons listed 64, or 38.6 percent, bore the same family name as the informant. Also represented were 16 other family names, among which were the 6 most common to the community.



The informant is thus related, by either blood or marriage, to most persons in the village and surrounding area. In other words, there are few individuals in the community who are not related either by blood or marriage to everyone else.

There exists no tradition of "family reunions" similar to those occasionally held in the United States, especially in the rural areas. Members of the same family who live in different parts of the community, however, sometimes come together, at irregular intervals, rarely all at the same time. Occasionally parents, for instance, may have their married children and grandchildren with them at such times as Holy Week.

The family is the center of the affectional life of the individual, affording him a set of social relations which usually are of a highly satisfying character. The various members of the immediate family collaborate in the production of food, the arrangement of shelter, and the manufacture of simple articles for daily use. Cooking, washing clothes, sewing, and similar activities carried on by the different members of the family further make this institution an effective economic unit.

The family is also a source of security for the individual. It affords him sustenance and at least the necessities of physical comfort, during the early years of life. As he grows older, this protection is gradually extended to the entire round of his social relations. The family tends to support him in any difficulty he may experience in accommodating himself to other persons in the community or elsewhere, and especially at times of crisis in these relationships. If necessary, the family serves as a hospital and asylum. If the individual becomes ill, other members of the family look after him. When he is too old longer to provide for his needs, the family succors him. If he becomes "queer" or insane, the family sees that at least his minimum daily wants are supplied so that he does not have to go to a public institution.

The protection given by the family to the child tends to extend throughout life. Grown children, even after being married and having families of their own, sometimes live in economic dependence upon the father. In a few cases, as has been indicated, married sons occupy the same farm as their father, they and their children collaborating in common tasks under the direction of the father (and grandfather). In the village, an elderly

man, himself unable to do other than the lightest tasks by reason of his age, oversees the work, on his several farm properties, of his grown children, five of whom are over 30 years of age. There are also numerous cases of sons who, even after they are married and have set up homes of their own, depend upon their parents, especially the father, for guidance in their social behavior, as well as the making of decisions regarding their lives and those of their children. One commonly hears a married man say, "I'm going to talk it over with father; if he thinks it should be done, I'll do it." Although, in each of the cases cited, the father is a competent man, vigorous and strong-willed, the expectation is that even in those cases where the father may be less competent than his sons, they will listen to his advice and show him every consideration.

The round of interaction which proceeds daily within the family group is the principal means by which knowledge and skills are transmitted from the older to the newer generation. The father and mother ordinarily are the principal agents in this process. In most cases, however, brothers and sisters and, in many cases, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandfathers and grandmothers, play decided roles. Together with the members of other families with whom the individual is in contact, these persons constitute a far more effective means of cultural transmission than the local educational or ecclesiastical functionaries. The family is also an effective means of inculcating discipline in the child. Even grown sons, married and with children of their own, have been observed to be taken to task, sometimes in the presence of persons outside the family, for lapses in conduct prescribed in the local mores.

A considerable portion of what limited recreational experience the individual enjoys is afforded by the family, especially in the case of the women and girls. The means are ordinarily simple and consist principally in conversation, the telling of anecdotes and tales and, in the case of the children, in play with brothers and sisters. There is rarely instrumental music in the home and no singing.

Property is owned by the individual; not by the family. No family has a special prerogative to exercise any specific occupational function to the exclusion of other families, the skills for which are handed down from generation to generation.



## RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

Relations inside the family ordinarily are intimate and sentimental and, as such, eminently satisfying to the individual. Parents tend to be indulgent toward their children and to lavish attention and affection upon them. "I work to eat and drink," said a villager, expressing a common attitude, "and to take care of my children."

In some cases, this attention and affection are of such a character as to develop in the child not only a decided dependence upon the parent but also a magnified ego. A healthy 3-year-old boy, for instance, was observed to slip on the earthen floor of a farm kitchen. Although the fall was inconsequential, the child began at once to cry loudly. The father rushed over and picked him up. The grandfather followed and, putting out his arms as if to take the child, said, "Have you hurt yourself, my precious little one?" The boy kept on crying, although the volume of sound diminished. The grandmother then came and took him from the father, speaking all the while to him in endearing tones. Shortly thereafter, the mother took him from the grandmother and carried him out the door, patting him on the back and talking soothingly to him. Since a child tends to take toward himself the attitudes which others take toward him, it is clearly evident that under these circumstances he may soon come to think of himself as a person to whom all other people always respond immediately and fully. "Diva," said a farm mother of her small daughter, "is a caution. When I walk to the village—it isn't very far, you know—she walks along with me all the way, since I have to carry her baby sister and there's usually something else to carry. But when her father's along, she won't walk. Even if she's not a bit tired, she'll sit right down on the ground and won't budge until he picks her up. At home, she runs around, back and forth, the whole day long and never gets tired. It's only when she goes out with her father that she's determined she must be carried." While the mother was speaking, Diva was leaning up against her knee and the mother's arm was about her, caressing the daughter affectionately. In a gentle tone of voice, the mother said, "You're a little rascal, aren't you, *minha neguinha*?" 221

<sup>221</sup> *Minha neguinha* (my little Negro girl) is a term of great affection. See Pierson, 1942, p. 139.

Under these circumstances, one notes a gradual inflation of the developing child's ego which tends to be disadvantageous to him in contacts outside the family and, more especially, in contacts with strangers from outside the community. The child naturally comes to expect treatment from these other persons in keeping with that dispensed toward him in the family and, when it is not forthcoming, to feel frustrated and resentful, usually without understanding the source of these feelings. He then tends to become sensitive, "touchy," easily offended.

According to the local mores, the principal obligations of a mother are to show affection for her children, to care for their needs as best she can, and to teach them prescribed conduct. "The true mother," said a villager, "is one who goes through suffering and overcomes difficulties for the love of her children." Several young men who were asked "What is the duty of a mother to her children?" gave the following replies:

- She should love them.
- She should feed them and keep them clean.
- She should teach them to work and to get on well with other people.
- She should love them and teach them to work hard.
- She should teach them what is right.
- She should take good care of them and bring them up well.
- She should love her children and also correct them; for if she doesn't, they will grow up disobedient and ill-mannered.

A child without affection for his mother is considered an extremely abnormal child. When a person in the community refers to his mother, he usually does so with undisguised tenderness. "Everyone should love and cherish his mother," said a young farm boy, 17 years old, "for it is she who, with hard work and much suffering, has taken good care of us. We should understand what she has suffered and always obey her." Other persons in the community expressed the local pattern of these relations in the following words:

You owe more to your mother than to anyone else in the world. No one is equal to her, no matter how good they are.

From the day you are born, your mother works hard for you. She carries you, she feeds you, she puts you to sleep. When you grow older, she still does a lot for you. She never stops thinking about you.



You owe the greatest of obligations to your mother. Out of love and tenderness, she has suffered for you. The son that doesn't love and honor his mother, is an evil son.

Divergence from the ideal pattern in this respect is generally considered unaccountable and is severely condemned. "We children were taught to cherish our mother," said a woman in the village. "We were told that even if a child didn't have enough to eat, he shouldn't let his mother go hungry. But imagine it! I know a woman who needed a little money and asked her grown son to help her. He was living *amigado*<sup>228</sup> with a woman. He said he already had an obligation and couldn't give her anything. What a scandalous thing!"

Relations with the father also are ordinarily of an intimate character and continue so throughout life. The obligation of a father toward his children is to show them affection, provide food, shelter, and other protection and teach them proper conduct in keeping with the local mores. Especially is the father expected to stand back of and support his sons and daughters in every situation which may arise. "Even if his child is no good," said a village leader, "a father should never go against him."

Several young men, aged 15 to 19 years, who were asked "What is the duty of a father to his children?" gave the following replies:

- He should work hard to take care of his children.
- He should love them and work hard for them.
- He should teach them everything they ought to know.
- He should not let them go hungry nor run loose.
- He should provide for them and teach them what is right.
- He should love them and see that they learn to behave.

Relations ordinarily are equally close and sentimental between brothers and sisters. In a village home, for instance, Nilza, aged 9, often is to be seen with her small brother in her arms. She carries him about, feeds him, changes his clothes, and puts him to sleep. On one occasion, Paulo, an 11-year-old brother, was observed to come in from play outside the house and immediately ask to hold his little brother. Proudly he remarked to a visitor that the baby already had a few teeth and then set about to prove it. Ritinha, aged 7, who had also just come in from play

then took the baby from her brother and repeatedly hugged and kissed him as she held him tightly in her arms. In a little while, Paulo asked for him again. As Arlindo, a 5-year-old brother, came in the room, he also stopped to kiss the baby. The attention of the four older children seemed centered on the child. Each appeared not only to show him tenderness and affection but also to take toward him a serious and responsible attitude.

The role of the oldest sister is especially important in this respect. Usually, she looks after the younger children, acting toward them much as if she were the mother. An older girl is commonly to be seen carrying about a younger brother or sister (pl. 7, g). "Eva takes care of the other children," said a farm mother of her 14-year-old daughter. "If she goes out to the field, they have to go along. If they can't, they cry. The older ones help and the little ones stay nearby and play." "Inês will not sleep soundly," said a mother of her 1-year-old child, "unless Rosa (the oldest daughter, aged 8) puts her to sleep." "Fillinha takes good care of the younger children," said a farm mother of her 15-year-old daughter. "I never have to worry when I go to the field and leave them with her. She doesn't like to be away from them for a minute. And they don't like to have her gone. If she goes as far as that hill over there (indicating a distance of about a hundred yards), this little one here (a 4-year-old boy) will cry until she comes back."

"When I was a small girl," said a farm woman, "my 3-year-old brother slept with me. When father called me in the morning to go to work in the field, I'd try to slip out quietly so my little brother wouldn't hear me. But often he'd wake up and say, 'Zana, you haven't taken me out of bed.' I'd take him out and he'd say, 'Zana, put me back in bed.' I'd put him back and he'd say, 'Zana, lie down with me.' I'd lie down and he'd say, 'But you aren't sleeping.' I'd close my eyes and he'd say, 'But you aren't snoring.' By that time, I was ready to spank him. But I never did. As he grew older and mother had him use another bed, I could hardly sleep at night, I missed him so."

A girl 9 years old in the village was out of school this year because of her mother's illness and the necessity of helping care for the younger children. At a farm home, the 10-year-old daughter

<sup>228</sup> See Mancebira, p. 128.



ter takes care of a 1½-year-old child and sleeps with her; the 12-year-old daughter takes care of the 5-month-old baby. "They do everything for them," says the mother, "they keep them clean, dress and carry them about." An elderly woman in the village remembers with pleasure her older sister and of how she helped "all the family."

The older daughter, as well as the other children, also helps with the work about the house and in the fields. At a farm home, for instance, the two daughters, aged 12 and 11 years respectively, know how to cook. Their mother says, "They get the *armogo* and I get the *janta*." At another farm home, a 13-year-old daughter does all the washing for a family of mother, father, and 5 children. "When I was a girl," remarked a farm woman, "I was always working in the house or in the field. The younger children had to be looked after and it seemed that father was always needing help in the field." If a mother dies, the children may be reared by an older daughter, unless the father remarries, or by either the mother's or the father's mother, if living.

Quite often a widowed grandmother lives with the family of her son or daughter. Her relations with the other members of the family, and especially with the children, ordinarily are intimate and sentimental. She usually assists with the household tasks, helps care for the children, and often becomes their confidant and counselor. In one case, the relations between grandmother and grandchildren are so close, that the grandmother has assumed the role of the mother, as is symbolized by the fact that the children call her "mother" and use, when speaking to their mother, the mother's given name.

The mother-in-law ordinarily is the object of respect and consideration. Daughters-in-law often are heard to speak well of their mothers-in-law and especially of the value of their experience with the practical affairs of life. "My mother-in-law," said a woman in the village, "was a good woman. I liked her a lot. She was just like a mother to me." "My mother-in-law lived with me for 12 years," said another daughter-in-law. "She was a fine woman. She taught me many things. It was a great loss when she died." Quite often, when unable to settle a practical problem that has emerged, a housewife will be heard to say, "My mother-in-law will know about that."

Although no evidence of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was observed in the community, there exists at least a tradition of such conflict. "A mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law in the same house," said an elderly woman in the village, "is trouble for certain." "She is such a good woman," said a man in the village, referring to an acquaintance, "that she could even get along with a mother-in-law." "When a girl marries nowadays," said a young woman, "she likes to have her own home. It's really better that way."

The pattern of intimate and sentimental relations within the family tends to generalize itself to all persons in the community. In fact, the community itself takes on to some extent the characteristics of a large, extended family as, in reality, it almost is.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

Relations between the sexes proceed largely within the family. As has been noted, women at no time participate in the conversation groups that form regularly in the village. They do not drink or play cards with men. At Mass and other religious ceremonies, the men tend to occupy one side of the church and the women the other, although segregation is not always complete. At *festas*, either religious or secular, women are to be seen talking together among themselves. Rarely does a woman converse with a man, except he be a relative of the family. At dances, as has also been indicated, the women sit together and the men remain apart. There is no conversation between partners during a dance and as soon as the music stops, they separate. A married woman is not expected to dance with men other than her husband, or an engaged girl with a man other than the one to whom she is engaged. For a man to call at the home of another man when he is away is definitely contrary to the mores.

Boys and girls at the village school occupy the same class room. On no occasion, however, do they sit together, except when a teacher deliberately employs toward a boy the most effective means of punishment at her disposal by forcing him to sit with a girl. For several years, the teachers have been women. Since, however, there are only three grades, the oldest boys usually are



not over 10 or 11 years of age. Ordinarily, they show respect for their teacher and are obedient.

It is rare for a farm woman to make purchases at a village store. A few women in the village who occasionally do so usually go directly from the house to the *venda*, make their purchases and return directly home, the amount of time they are away being quite limited. Women with children old enough to make purchases usually send them to the store instead.

The inauguration of regular bus service<sup>23</sup> presents a new and serious problem of accommodation to women who travel on it and who never before have been in such close proximity to strange men.

The relations between husband and wife combine both intimacy and distance. Considerable affection ordinarily develops. Affectionate gestures, however, are never seen in public after marriage, and rarely before, a fond glance constituting the limit in this respect. At marriage, the authority over the daughter formerly exercised by the father passes to the husband. As an observer put it, "The husband becomes the master, the one who directs, the one whose wishes are respected." "When you're single," said a farm woman, "you follow your parents; and when you're married, you follow your husband." "A woman must always obey her husband," said an older woman in the village. "If he tells her to do something, she must do it." In addition, if she would gain prestige in the group, she must become a "good housewife," "a good mother" and "a hard worker."

The wife must not quarrel with her husband or even enter into a serious discussion with him. She must accept, without grumbling, her role (see the following section). If she exceeds the limits set for her behavior, she is subjected to the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule.

At the same time, this dependent relation has its compensations. The mores lay upon the man the duty of protecting, as well as supporting, his wife. If she were to work outside the family and he were to live from what she makes, he would be universally condemned. The husband holds property in common with his wife. On no occasion, must he strike her. In most cases, more-

over, the formal relationship is at least to some extent modified, and in a few cases it is completely undermined, by the emotional attachments which normally develop between human beings under conditions of primary contact.

The obligation laid upon a husband, as has been indicated, is to provide food, shelter, and at least the minimum of other physical comforts for his wife and to protect her against all harm. "When a man marries," said a village leader, "he takes on a great load. When the ox is alone, he can lick himself; when he's under the yoke, he cannot." "The women say it's the man who has a good life," remarked a village leader, "but the men say it's the man who is the *burro de carga* (pack mule)."

Four young men, each 17 to 19 years of age, who were asked, "What are the obligations of a man to his wife?", gave the following replies:

- Love and defend her.
- Work hard to keep her from suffering want.
- See that she has what she needs to live on.
- Protect her at all times.

"My husband gives me what I need," said a farm woman. "If I go to the village and see a piece of cloth there I like and I tell my husband, 'Dito, there, in Sebastião's store is a pretty piece of cloth,' he'll say, 'Go and get the piece you like.' He's been good to me. I even have a silk dress. I have a coat and so does my daughter; not just a cheap coat but one of good wool."

A wife is expected to look after the house and children of her husband, to help him in the fields when he asks her, to afford her husband sexual satisfaction and otherwise contribute to his convenience and comfort. Several young men who were asked, "What are the obligations of a wife to her husband?", gave the following replies:

- To take care of her husband's house and live at peace with him.
- Not to do anything which her husband does not like.
- To help her husband and to love him.
- To do what her husband asks her to do.
- To take care of the house and keep her husband's clothes in good order.
- Not to play around with other men.

The husband is especially charged with the obligation of seeing that his wife lives up to what is expected of her. "If a woman runs after another man," said a farmer, "you can be sure her husband is no good." "If a woman treats her

<sup>23</sup> See sections on Transportation, p. 95, and Isolation and Contact, p. 104.



husband badly," said a villager, "he will see that she *leve a brêca* (catches it)." If the woman performs her role as defined in the local mores, the husband's prestige is increased. At the same time, he is all the more expected to live up to what is expected of him. "If a wife is a good wife," remarked a village leader, "a man must be a good man."

The ordinarily submissive attitude of the woman obviously makes for harmony in the home and bickering and quarreling are rare. "In 16 years of married life," said a farm woman, "me and my husband have never had a single quarrel." "When one of them is good," remarked an elderly woman in the village, "there'll be no quarreling, even if the other is no account. If they fight, it's because neither of them is any good." Some men assume a reciprocal obligation in this respect. A village leader remarked, for instance, "A husband should also obey his wife. They should agree on things."

A casual relation with a prostitute is not considered to constitute infidelity in the man, a point of view which is apparently acquiesced in, sometimes grudgingly, by the women. Emotional attachment to a prostitute or other woman, however, on the part of a married man, is frowned upon by both men and women. "For a husband to leave his wife," said an older man in the village and one of its leaders, "and go running after loose women is the same thing as for a hog to leave his maize and go eat excrement."

Attachments to women other than the wife, however, occasionally occur. A young woman recalls:

My uncle João, the brother of my father, used to leave his wife at home, get into a *charrêta*,<sup>20</sup> come in to the village, take this woman he liked so well and go driving with her. She was a mulatto woman, married to a black man. Her husband knew about it, but he didn't do anything. He wasn't much good. The woman went out only with my uncle. He gave her many presents; a coat that cost 350 cruzeiros and a pair of glasses that cost 250. He also gave his wife things; but if he'd give her a pair of shoes worth 70 or 80 cruzeiros, he'd give the other woman a pair worth 200. If he gave his wife cloth for a dress that cost 15 cruzeiros a meter, he'd give the woman cloth that cost double that.

Occasionally the wife objects strongly to such behavior on the part of the husband. The most effective control, however, is exercised through his

family and especially by way of his father. The informant mentioned above continued:

My aunt was always quarreling with my uncle about his going to see this woman. Sometimes he'd get up out of bed and go out and sleep in the corucub or even in the *terreiro*. But one day when he had gone to the house of this woman, we got word that one of our relatives, the wife of Sebastião, was dying. We all went in to the village to be with her. My uncle heard about our coming and was afraid his wife might come in to the village and he left in a hurry. My aunt did come in and as soon as she got to the village she went to the house of this woman. When she came up to the door, she shouted, "You whore, you black woman, you shameless creature!" The other woman replied, "I may be a whore, but I'm your husband's whore. I may be a black woman, but I'm the woman of a white man." My aunt shouted something back and then went to the house of her mother-in-law and complained about her husband. So her husband's father sent for his son and he said to him, "Your sister is dying. Is this the way you show sorrow for her? You should be ashamed."

The tendency, however, is to tolerate extramarital behavior in the husband, if discreetly carried on. Divorce does not exist and separation with mutual consent is extremely rare. Desertion, although it occasionally occurs, is also under strong negative sanction. A wife will usually accommodate herself to the situation rather than act in an extreme way. She may overlook her husband's infidelities. She is more liable to object to them and let him know of her objection. In the end, however, she usually comes to tolerate them, since there is no alternative. This attitude is reflected in the remark of a farm woman, herself happily married, when she said, "A husband should respect his wife and not let her or the children suffer want. Whatever else he cares to do, that's his affair; one ought not to mind too much."

Extramarital experiences on the part of the woman, however, are universally and implacably condemned. The slightest suspicion is severely reproofed and an overt act may lead to violence and death. A farm woman of whom it is said, "She doesn't care for her husband. If a man of quality comes along, *ela dá*,"<sup>21</sup> is held in low regard by both men and women in the community.

The injured husband is expected to act immediately he discovers his wife's infidelity and any violence he may show tends to be overlooked and

<sup>20</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Literally, "She'll give;" local phrase for "have sexual relations with."



to be justified in both custom and law. A young wife recalls:

Once a relative of mine, the uncle of my father, who had married a second time, found out that his wife was being unfaithful to him. She hadn't been entirely bad; she just liked other men. She had a sister who was no good. He told her never to go to her sister's house. But when he'd leave, she'd slip out and run over. One day he came back early and asked his little daughter, "Where is your mother?" The girl replied, "She's at my aunt's." He went into the village and asked the butcher, "Can you lend me a big knife? I want to kill a goat. I'll send you a hind quarter for the favor." The butcher, who had no suspicions of what the uncle of my father might do, sharpened his largest knife and gave it to him. Then the uncle of my father went over to the sister's house looking for his wife and when he found her, he killed her. When they came to take him, he ran out of the house to meet them and said, "I only cleansed my honor; for, in my family, no one can have a dirty face."

"Of course he should not have done that," continued the informant. "He was a Christian and that was a sin. But she had *feito um grande despreso pra ele* (treated him with great disrespect) and in this way he revenged himself."

A man whose wife is unfaithful to him and who *não reage* (does nothing about it) is called a *corvo manso*, literally a "tame horn." The expression is said to come from an ancient belief that horns sprout on the head of a cuckold. The present significance is that such a person "is easily distinguished; everyone can see that he is deficient."

#### ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMAN

The role of woman in the local society is symbolized by the fact that, upon first entering the village, one notes the almost complete absence of women in the streets or, so far as at first can be observed, anywhere. If he looks more closely, however, he will discover that the women of the various households, without coming directly to either the doors or windows of their houses, are discreetly observing his movements, almost hidden in their homes.

A woman's role, almost without exception, is exercised within and as a part of the family. It is from her activity here that status, almost entirely, is obtained. The cases in which at least a portion of a woman's role extends beyond the confines of the family are few: those of the midwives, the two school teachers, the "blessers," the principal patroness at the village church who has a prominent role in preparing the processions, the

two girls who sing at religious ceremonies, the postmistress, the few women who wash clothes on occasion for other families, and the two girls who work as "servants." In each of these cases, however, the major portion of the woman's role is exercised within her own family.

The routine of local women is largely circumscribed by the following activities:

- Fetching water and firewood.
- Cooking.
- Washing and ironing clothes.
- Cleaning the house.
- Bearing children.
- Caring for the children.
- Training the children in acceptable conduct.
- Helping care for domestic animals.
- Working in the fields when needed.
- Sewing.
- Embroidering, knitting, crocheting, and making *drogito* (lace fringe on flour sacks).

A woman sometimes is allowed by her husband to keep the money she makes raising chickens or other fowl. Even then, however, the money usually is spent for items needed for the family. "I raise a few chickens and a few ducks," remarked a young farm wife. "I also sell eggs. The money I get is mine. I bought that woolen coat you see there. When my husband is out of money, I sometimes get things for him. I bought the suit he's wearing. I buy things for the children, too."

Several young men who were asked their conception of what a woman should be and do, replied as follows:

A good woman works hard and is obedient. She takes care of her family as she should. She washes the clothes, straightens up the house and looks after her husband.

A woman's work is to cook and wash clothes. She should also help her husband in the field so that their life will be a little better. With a lazy wife, a man never gets ahead.

I want a woman who is a hard worker and who will do everything in the house. I also want a woman who will do what I tell her. The man should give the orders, not the woman.

A woman's work is to wash the clothes and do the cooking. A woman who is ambitious for her family will also help her husband in the field. There are women who are hard workers and there are others who are no good; a woman should not want to "gad about" and make a fool of her husband.

Without a woman it would be much harder to get the cooking done and the clothes washed and take care of the livestock.



A woman is a creature similar to a man. But she is generally weaker and more often mistaken. She is usually more violent when angry; but she shows more pity when someone is suffering. All this is the result of her weak nature and it is for this reason that she is more easily dominated. A good woman is obedient, humble, hard working, gentle, affectionate, and faithful. A woman who does not have these qualities cannot be a good woman, no matter what other qualities she may have.

A woman is generally weaker than a man in all ways, in mind, in strength, in everything. A good woman is one who takes care of everything about the house; who cooks and washes and irons the clothes. In fact, she does everything that is needed to be done. And she does nothing to make her husband discontented.

A woman usually is a weaker creature than a man. When she is mad, she is apt to say everything that comes into her head. She doesn't make any allowance for anything and she offends people without knowing it. They are not all alike, though. A few are calm and think before they speak. A good woman obeys her husband and does everything necessary to live happily with him, in peace and harmony.

In all matters the woman is subject to her husband's wishes and is expected to be obedient and submissive. Obedience is a cardinal virtue universally exacted by the mores and concurred in, almost without exception, by the women.

"The men say that women aren't worth anything," remarked a woman in the village. "All the men say that. And the women usually agree with them." "My sister," remarked a farm woman, "always used to say, 'A woman of gold isn't worth a man of clay.'"

The inferior status of woman is symbolized in the fact that a man never calls his marriage partner, "wife" (*esposa*). The term used, almost without exception, is *minha mulher* (my woman). A woman, however, refers to her spouse as *meu marido* (my husband).

As has been indicated, there are several activities in which men participate and from which women are customarily barred. No woman participates in the conversation of the groups of men which regularly form in public places in the village. On a few occasions in which a woman has been observed to come up to such a group to deliver an urgent message to a relative or acquaintance, the talk has always ceased. The behavior of the men present indicated that they were waiting until the woman had left before continuing their conversation.

Upon no occasion does a woman participate in a hunt or even think seriously of doing so. Hunt-

ing in this terrain entails considerable physical hardship. To carry a gun in brush and timber where a way often has to be cut with a *facão* (fig. 11), to spend the whole day tramping about, to run rapidly on occasion through difficult undergrowth to follow game which has been flushed, and to carry home on one's back an animal which may weigh up to a hundred pounds, all while subjected to the bites of ticks and mosquitoes, are considered activities only for men. Neither is it customary for women or girls to participate in fishing expeditions. "Quê?" exclaimed a man upon being asked if women ever helped bring home fish. "When did anyone ever see a woman on the banks of the river?"

During the period in which the community was under observation, a *futebol* (soccer) team was organized in the village and a few games were played with neighboring towns. No woman or girl participated either in practice or actual play. A few women were present when games were played in the village but none was observed to comment publicly, in the company of men, upon any aspect of the game. Playing cards is a favorite pastime of the men, engaged in at the principal *botequim*, the bakery, or private homes. No woman or girl, however, ever participates in a game, either with men or other women.

There are certain hours when a woman may walk in a village street and certain other hours when she is not expected to be out of the house. After dark, unless she is attending a *reza* or a *fésta* or otherwise has a definite objective which is known to all, she remains at home. Effusiveness in conversation is promptly checked by a husband or other male relative, by way of a glance, a casual remark to the effect that the woman is making herself a bit too conspicuous, or a firm order, like that given by a village leader when his wife, during a conversation in which a friend of the family was participating, expressed an opinion of which he did not approve, "Keep still! Go look after the child there in the other room." The order was given in a rather natural manner, however, without the voice being raised. The wife at once left the room. On another occasion, a man and his wife who live together quite amicably, were talking to a friend when a lack of agreement between husband and wife emerged in the discussion. Brusquely the man said to his wife, "Keep



still! You're a *burra*;<sup>24</sup> you don't know anything." The wife with patient submission and no apparent rancor, became quiet.

When a stranger enters the house of a local resident, he is never presented to either the wife or daughters. If he inquires regarding them, the reply may be, "They are well," or "They are there in the other room," or "They have gone to get firewood." The manner in which this is said indicates that the inquiry is not especially important.

During the course of this study, male members of the research staff were invited to take meals in several homes in the village and on farms. On no occasion did a wife or daughter join the men at the table or, in those cases in which there was no table, in the room where the meal was taken. They remained instead in the kitchen, appearing only to bring in food or to take out used dishes. Even in those cases where they had not previously been met by the guests, they were not presented upon their entering the room, the husband and father paying little attention to their presence.

Sometimes, when guests are well known to the entire family, an older woman may participate in the conversation at the table even though she does not partake of food there. A villager, for instance, was entertaining several men friends at dinner. As usual, the wife remained in the kitchen while taking her meal. From time to time, however, she spoke through the kitchen door, which was near the table. Becoming more and more interested in the conversation, she edged her way little by little, unconsciously, into the room. She eventually passed around the end of the table, temporarily leaving her plate on the table's edge. When she had finished speaking and absent-mindedly was about to lift some food from the plate to her mouth, the husband called out, sternly, "Get these dirty dishes off the table! If you don't do it pretty soon, you're going to be late getting the kitchen cleaned up." "Yes, yes," was the reply, as the wife hastened to obey.

Several men were playing cards one evening in the home of a villager, a young man who had been married about 2 years. He and his wife had a 3-month-old child. When it became time for the baby to be put to bed, the wife brought him in from the kitchen and, passing through the room

where the men were playing, without speaking to anyone or looking at them, went to bed in the next room. Through the doorway, however, since there was no door, she could easily hear whatever was said, even in low tones, in the room where the men were playing. The men continued to speak in loud voices and, at times, to scrape their feet heavily over the floor during the excitement over some turn in the game, without taking into consideration the fact that the wife and child were trying to sleep in the next room. Around midnight, the child awakened and began to whimper. For some time, the father went on playing. Suddenly, he shouted to his wife, "Ana, Ana, look after that child." The woman awakened and put the child back to sleep and all became quiet once more in the bedroom. About 3 o'clock in the morning, the husband suddenly remarked to his friends, "Let's have *café*!" and then, turning his head toward the other room, shouted in a loud voice, "Ana, Ana, make *café* for us!" Shortly the wife appeared in the doorway, sleepy-eyed, her dress askew, and went into the kitchen whence, a little later, she brought a coffee pot and several tin cans. After pouring the *café*, she handed each can to her husband who then gave it to one of his guests. When a man remarked, "This *café* is good; it came just at the right time," the wife smiled in a satisfied way, without lifting her eyes.

A woman is not expected to participate in politics, except to vote in keeping with her husband's convictions. Said a political leader in the village, "A woman votes as her husband votes. In the house, it's always the rooster who crows; the hen must keep quiet." Of a man in the community whose wife tends to assume a role in political and other affairs which is not in keeping with that laid down in the local mores and who himself is disliked by reason of the superior attitude which he tends to take toward other members of the community, villagers were heard to say, "With a wife like that, there isn't any man who'd be any good."

In a few cases, a man may occasionally assume a role which is ordinarily reserved to the woman. "My husband," said a woman in the village, "knows how to do everything around the house. Once when I was sick for over a week, he did the cooking for every meal." Another man in the village, as has been indicated, is noted for his culinary skill, especially in preparing roast pig and

<sup>24</sup> Feminine form of *burro*; the word is used to imply utter stupidity.



similar dishes for special occasions such as a wedding dinner.

Inversion of role, however, in which the woman seeks to exercise authority over her husband and to exact obedience from him is rare and, if it occurs, is severely condemned by both men and women. A woman in the village is notorious for having once gone to the *botequim* and *feito escandalo* (created a scandalous disturbance) to get her husband to leave off gambling and come home. The opposition to gambling is not censured but her appearance in a public place and her attempts to exercise control over the husband's behavior are not only resented by the husband but universally condemned. "A man governed by a woman never amounts to anything," is a common remark in this connection. "A house where the woman is the boss," said a farm woman, "is no good. That's the truth. In a house where the man wants to do something and his wife says, 'You can't do that, I don't like it,' that kind of a house is upside down."

Not even in lesser matters is any tendency at inversion tolerated. An older woman in the village, a person of "forceful personality," was heard to say to her husband, "Quim, get me the candle holder there under the table." To which the husband immediately replied, "*Vá você! Uai!* (Go get it yourself! Why \* \* \*)." The implications in voice and other gesture were, "Why do you ask me to do that? That's *your* job."

The "double standard" of sexual morality to which reference has already been made is a concomitant of the inferior status of woman. It is clearly defined and recognized in the community. "Don't be a fool," said a mother to a son by whom a girl in the community had become pregnant and who, by reason of the fact that he was under legal age while she was older, would not be required by law either to marry the unmarried mother or to make a legal settlement, "You don't need to marry her. You know you can marry anyone you want. The one that's been dirtied (*fica suja*) by this is her, not you." "Poor girl," said a woman in the village, referring to the same person, "What bad luck! If she were a boy, it would be different. Nothing ever sticks to a boy." "A man if he does good," said a farm woman, "that's good; and if he does bad, that's still good. But a woman! If she does the least little thing,

she's talked about." "The girl to whom I'm engaged," remarked a young farmer, "never goes out with me unless her sister or brother is along. That's the way it should be. Because if it isn't, and for any reason we don't get married, no one will say anything about me, but the girl will be talked about by everyone. The least little thing and people are talking."

This double pattern extends to other behavior. "A man can go any place he likes," said a young farmer. "He can come home late, at any hour. But a woman! That's different!" A young farmer who recently married a village girl does not allow his wife to go to the village unless he is along. Instead, the mother and sisters come to the farm to visit her. The young married woman, however, is quite happy and proud of her strong, robust young husband. "A man can dance with anyone but he won't let his wife dance with no one but him," said an elderly woman in the village, describing the prevailing pattern, to which attention has already been called. "When I get married," a young farmer remarked, "I certainly won't let my wife dance with other men. When I'm here, I won't dance either, except with her. But when I'm away, that's different!" When a friend said jocularly, "And maybe she'll dance with others when you're away." "If she does," was the reply, "I'll give her a beating."

There is little, if any, difference in status among the women of the community. The group is largely homogeneous. No women especially stand out above the rest. A few live in better houses and dress somewhat better. A certain degree of prestige also attaches to such activities as those of the midwife, the "blessers," the principal patroness, the teachers, and the girls who sing at religious ceremonies. If any of these persons, however, does not behave toward all the others as equals and tends to reveal a feeling of superiority, her prestige suffers correspondingly.

In addition to failing to live up to her expected role, one of the means by which a woman's status is lowered is to give herself over habitually to alcoholic drink. Said a villager, "I won't have anything to do with a woman who puts a glass of *pinga* to her mouth." On the other hand, a woman's status may be improved beyond that ordinarily accruing to her sex if she evidences unusual intelligence or shows other special competence.



There is, then, in general, a lack of Alternatives so far as a woman's role is concerned. Patterns of behavior are clearly defined so that all know what is "right" conduct and what is "wrong" conduct. And since there is no doubt over what to do, a woman tends to feel secure in her role. It would appear that local women accept it and are reasonably happy in it. Each woman usually obtains that which she had expected to have—a husband, a home, and children—and consequently is satisfied with her lot. She is untroubled by any sense of frustration with reference to a different status which she has never thought of as being possible for her. She cannot feel robbed of that of which she has not yet formed an image. There are, then, no questionings, doubts, or deceptions. If life is hard, it is accepted as in the nature of things and to be conformed to since *a vida é assim mesmo* (life is like that). Her lot is the same as that of her mother. Her wants are simple. In her world she is integrated. In her home she feels secure.

Moreover, as has been indicated, the formal character of status and role is continually being undermined by attitudes and sentiments which normally develop out of intimate, personal relations. Sympathy, affection, gratitude, respect, and even admiration often come to be felt by a man for his wife, his mother, or his sister. At the same time, a woman who satisfies well the demands of her role may enjoy considerable prestige. She comes to be known and honored throughout the community as "a good wife" and "a good mother." The influence she exerts over her husband is subtle and often quite effective, especially if she has marked intelligence or other competence.

One occasionally observes, however, a certain restraint in situations such as that cited where the husband told the wife to "Keep quiet! Go look after the child!" which indicates some dissatisfaction with role and status and a desire, probably largely unconscious, to alter it.

It would seem that in the community the most satisfying activities in which girls and unmarried young women can engage and which give life zest are to be visited by a boy friend, to go to a *festa*, to get a new dress, and to dance. For the married woman, the most satisfying experiences would seem to be to have a child, to visit with one's relatives and friends, and to go to a *festa*.

## MANCERIA

*Mancia*, or the system of conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanence, is a cultural pattern common to all parts of Brazil. The terms customarily employed in this connection, however, are derived from *amigo* (friend). The verb *amigar* and the participle *amigado* are most commonly used.

A few of these unions are similar in essential characteristics to those referred to in the United States as "common-law marriages." Without either church or state ceremony, a man and a woman have come to live together as husband and wife in a union which they consider to be permanent and which may be so regarded by other persons in the community. They may eventually marry. Their relations to each other and to the other members of the community would seem not to vary in any essential way from those of couples who have actually been married according to a religious or civil ceremony.

Not every case of *mancia*, however, is of this kind. Of a considerably different character are those informal unions which young men may enter into previous to legal marriage. Although the relationship thus established may continue over a number of years, there is neither intention nor expectation of permanence, especially on the part of the young man. The woman usually is from a class whose status is lower than that of the family to which the young man belongs. Eventually he intends to marry someone whose social position more closely approximates that of his own family.

At present, no case of *mancia* in the community would seem to be of this type, a fact which may be due to the absence of any clearly defined class division in the present population. (See Status and Prestige, p. 200.) An occasional case of this kind, however, is recalled by local inhabitants. Some years ago, for instance, a young man who had been refused by the young woman whom he wished to marry, "became angry and went and *amigou-se*" with another girl, living with her for 6 years before marrying, at the earnest request of his father, a third girl suggested by his family.

There are three couples at present *amigados* in the village. In each case, either one or both of the partners is separated from a legal spouse. A woman, 50 years old, who was deserted by her husband, lives with a man, 52 years old. A man 24



years old and a woman of 29, both of whom are from the neighboring town of Boa Vista, are both separated from their respective spouses. A man, 32 years old, recently began living with a woman of 28, after being deserted by his wife, no longer living in the community.

On a farm outside the village, an elderly widower has lived for 18 years *amigado* with a young woman. "She is a very good woman," said a married granddaughter of the man: "she lives only with him. They did not marry, because to do so the family estate would have to be settled up and that would cost too much. He says they are getting along all right as it is."

To live *amigado* is not generally considered to be proper conduct. "*O povo fala* (people talk about it)," said a villager. "It is *feio* (ugly)." Disapproval, however, is usually of a mild character; and, if the partners are otherwise thought to be *gente boa* (good people), the lapse in this respect is usually tolerated, if not completely overlooked. In cases where a man or a woman has been deserted by a spouse, and especially if children have been left behind, the subsequent *amigação* of the injured partner, since there is no divorce in Brazil, is considered an understandable arrangement. "He liked her," said a young man referring to a couple who came to live together under these circumstances, "and he couldn't marry her; so he *amigou-se*."

Reproval, however, occasionally is voiced in a rather decided manner. The parents of a man whose wife had left him some 4 years before and who was about to become *amigado* with a young girl, agreed to the latter's request that a dinner be given to celebrate the occasion. It was to be held at the home of the man's parents on the evening of the couple's taking up residence together. The dinner was not held, however, apparently owing to disapproval expressed by relatives and acquaintances of the family. A young man was heard to say, in this connection, "For a man or a woman to be *amigado* is not good."

The local registrar of vital statistics brings tactful pressure upon persons who are living *amigado* to marry legally. To a young man who came in to register the birth of a child after living for 2 years *amigado* with a young woman, the registrar said, "You should get married. If someone speaks of your *amiga* then, you can call her your wife."

"That is good," replied the young father, "I'll see what can be done." "I also tell them," the registrar says, "it'll be easier to recognize their children before the law. If they don't get married, the cost in stamps and other charges will be over 100 cruzeiros for every child; and it only costs 120 cruzeiros to get married and then all their children will be legitimate and they won't have to go through all the trouble of recognizing each one. Some of these young folks are awfully ignorant about these things."

#### "NATURAL CHILDREN"

Children born out of wedlock are referred to locally as *filhos naturais* ("natural children"). The number in the community is negligible.

The rather general attitude toward "natural children," however, is perhaps best reflected in a remark made by a young married man in the village, who said, "Every child is a *natural* child, is it not? How is it possible to have a child that isn't *natural*?" The general tendency is to look upon the procreative process as a normal process; to accept certain restraints on sexual behavior in keeping with conventional patterns but also to be quite tolerant if these restraints are occasionally ineffective. The illegitimate child himself suffers no stigma. His illegitimacy is considered, rather logically, to be beyond his control and responsibility.

Censure falls entirely upon the mother. If, however, a marriage is arranged with the father of the child, especially before the child's birth, the lapse from sanctioned conduct tends to be overlooked and, with the passage of time, forgotten. Its recall rarely occurs except in conflict situations when someone seeks to muster all the damaging evidence possible to slander the object of his wrath.

The present attitude toward illegitimacy probably reflects imported Portuguese mores, reinforced by African and Indian cultural heritages, together with the circumstances of colonial settlement in Brazil (Freyre, 1943; Pierson, 1942). Moreover, it has long been supported in Brazil by the inconsistency in the definition of illegitimacy as given by the state, on the one hand, and the church on the other. The state does not recognize marriage when performed only under ecclesiastical sanction, officially considering illegitimate



children born to parents not married according to the civil code, even though there may have been a religious ceremony. At the same time, the church does not recognize marriage under the civil code, considering illegitimate all children born to parents not married according to the rituals of the church, even though there may have been a civil ceremony. Parents who had been married according to one or the other of these ceremonies have naturally felt that there was at least some reason to consider their children legitimate and this fact has tended to reduce any stigma which the word "illegitimate" may have implied. As an elderly inhabitant of the village once said:

To the priest, the children of those who marry "in the civil" are illegitimate, and to the registrar of births, the children of those who marry "in the church" are illegitimate. If you thought very much about such things as that, you wouldn't get much sleep at night.

A father may legally recognize an illegitimate child, if he is not the result of an incestuous or adulterous union. Recognition enables the child to share in inheritance equally with the father's legitimate offspring.

#### SPINSTERS

The expectation laid down in the local mores is that every girl will marry. "If she gets to be 17 or 18 years of age," said a woman in the village, "and she hasn't yet found her a man, people will begin to say, 'She's getting old; why doesn't she marry!'"

Spinsters are relatively rare in the community. There are only five in the village. One is epileptic and one is insane. Of another, a villager said, "She's quite a woman. She's too outspoken and opinionated to get a man. No one would have the courage to ask her. She will take a stick and set out a foot for Boa Vista, alone." Of the fourth, a sister said, "She just didn't care to get married. When a young man would speak to father about her, she'd say she was too young. After a while, no one came around any more." Of the fifth, a sister said, "She was the oldest of us children. She took care of the house and helped all of us get married but for some reason she herself never did." A woman 29 years of age, on a farm near the village is also unmarried. "She's turned down men who asked her," said a neighbor, "because the first one she wanted, her father objected to him."

A seventh woman is considered by some to be a *solteirona* (spinster) because "she is 26 years old and hasn't married yet." Several men have courted her but "they always break off." "I don't know why," said a neighbor, "it must be fate."

An unmarried woman is at a disadvantage both economically and sociologically. Her economic value in the community is slight. She is apt to be considered a burden by her parents, especially if they are poor. "Marriage is best for a woman," said a mother of five and sister of one of the spinsters in the village. "She should get a husband to help earn her living. Always for a woman, it's better to marry." At the same time, since the spinster is not a party to many of the common interests and experiences of almost all other women of her age, she tends to live in a world apart; to be treated differently by those who are married and have children, and thus to think of herself as different, if not abnormal.

Of the five spinsters in the village, one is 73 years of age. She owns a house, which she shares with a bachelor cousin. Together with two married sisters who live in the village, she also owns a small *sitio*. Her relatives help support her. "One gives this, another that," said a sister. "Perhaps money, perhaps not. But all help." The woman who is epileptic lives with her widowed father and his younger children. The woman who is insane, lives with her mother, who is a widow, and an older brother. The fourth spinster lives with her father and mother and four bachelor brothers. The fifth shares a house with a married couple; she washes clothes, cares for the linen of the church, and does whatever other work she can find to do about the village. The sixth spinster lives with her father on a farm.

#### WIDOWS

In a community where the struggle for a living is difficult, even under the most propitious circumstances, and where girls are trained only for the role of wife and mother and expected to assume a dependent attitude toward father and husband, the lot of a widow is especially hard. A 70-year-old widow said:

My husband died when I was only 32 years of age, and left me with 7 children and another child 3 months on the way. But I raised them all. I made and sold all sorts of pastries. I carried them about on a tray



on my head. I went to every *feira*; those here in the village and those in other parts of the community. I would hire a pack mule, put everything on its back, and go with the children. When I got there, I'd set up a stand and sell my pastries. I also owned a sewing machine with a foot pedal and did sewing for other women. With the pastries and the sewing, I brought up all my children.

A few widows marry again. Usually they are those who possess some property and who have few, or no, children. "This woman keeps saying she'll never marry again!" remarked a villager of a widow with seven children. "That if she went around with a lantern, she couldn't hope to find a man as good as the husband who died. I tell you she can look as long as she likes with that lantern. Poor and with seven children, she'll never find a man who'll marry her. If she had 3 *alqueires* of land, it is possible; and if she had 15 *alqueires*, it would be much easier."

Those who have relatives living in the community, however, either of their own family or that of her husband, usually receive as much assistance as the relatives are able to offer. If the widow happens to be without relatives in the community, other villagers or farmers will from time to time help take care of her most urgent needs. "Someone will give one thing, someone else another," said a villager.

One widow, whose husband was a *soldado*, receives a government pension of 280 cruzeiros a month. "But that isn't enough to live on these days," she says, with evident truth. A few widows make a precarious living washing clothes for other families, acting as a midwife or, like the widow cited above, sewing and making and selling pastries.

There are 16 widows living in the village. Nine own their own homes. Two other widows, one of whom is 91 years of age and the other 65, live with a married son or daughter. Another widow, 40 years of age, lives with a married sister. Three others live with unmarried but adult children: one, aged 68, lives with her 25-year-old son in a house for which they pay 20 cruzeiros a month rent; a second, aged 62, lives with her 28-year-old son in a house for which they pay 40 cruzeiros a month rent, the mother working regularly at "toasting" maize flour in the mill of her son-in-law on a *sítio* just outside the village; and the third, aged 39, lives with her older sons, one of

whom is 20 years of age and the other 18, both of whom work as day laborers on farms in the community, and two younger sons, aged 11 and 9 years, respectively. A widow, 40 years old, lives with her mother, also a widow, who owns her own home.

Of the 9 widows who own their own homes, one is 30 years of age and lives alone with 7 children from 11 years to 7 months old. A second is 64 years of age and lives with a 25-year-old son and 18-year-old daughter. She earns part of the living by washing clothes in the nearby creek for neighbor women. A third is 48 years of age and is paralyzed. She is cared for by a family which rents her house at the nominal rental of 10 cruzeiros a month. Another is 72 years of age and lives with a 51-year-old son, himself a widower, a 35-year-old unmarried daughter, and a 17-year-old grandson. Another is 70 years of age and shares her house with a married daughter and her family. Another is 59 years of age and makes a precarious living as a part-time prostitute, sharing her home with another part-time prostitute and the latter's 3-year-old son. Two other widows live alone, one of whom is 66 years old and has a pension, as indicated above; the other is 54 years of age and works occasionally at light labor in the fields of nearby farms. Another widow, 58 years of age, shares her home with a 21-year-old son and a widowed daughter 40 years old, together with the latter's children, aged 22, 18, 15, 13, and 4 years, respectively.

The following account by a widow in the village reveals in an intimate way the attitude taken toward the widow by other persons in the community:

My husband died last year of tuberculosis. The year before we had had a fine crop. We harvested 60 sacks of rice. Our maize made a huge pile. And you should have seen the potatoes we dug! We had everything we needed. A great plenty! And look at us now! Who would have thought this would have happened to me. I have seven children and no husband. It's difficult to find any work I can do on a farm. I did have a sewing machine, but I had to sell it. I also sold my husband's *garrucha*.<sup>22</sup>

Everyone helps me, though. My brother in the village gives me a little money sometimes. My sister is a cook in Piracema and she sends me something once in a while. When I go to other people in the village, they are always good to me. The children were needing clothes. A

<sup>22</sup> A double-barreled pistol. See Protection: the Fera de Balaúha and the Garrucha, p. 50.



woman got together some things that her children didn't need any more and sent them over to me. When I have to have medicine, the wife of the pharmacist in Boa Vista gets it for me. My neighbor helped plant that patch of beans there. When they came up, my father did the hoeing and the weeding. They're doing fine, as you can see; the vines are heavy with pods. If it doesn't frost, we'll have plenty this year. The other day, a *comadre* was here and took me with her to the site of Seu Antonio and he gave me some lard and some salt. He also said he would soon be digging potatoes and to come and get some.

My boy here is 11 years old. He sells vegetables for Seu Lindoro "on thirds." Every few days he gets up early and goes out to the farm to bring them in. It's fine for him; he's learning how to sell things. From another farm he brings milk to three families in the village and each family pays him 5 cruzeiros a month. I have a godchild that lives on a farm. When I go there, he catches a couple of chickens and says, "Here, godmother, these are for you."

### COMPADRIO

Among the primary mechanisms of solidarity in the local society are the relations developed within the system of *compadrio*. Every child at baptism has a *padrinho* (godfather) and a *madrinha* (godmother) selected for him by his parents. He is ever after bound to these godparents and they to him by special bonds of obligation and expectation. At the same time, his parents are equally bound to the godparents of their child, a fact which is symbolized by the term they use in addressing each other. It is *compadre* (*comadre*) or literally, co-father (co-mother). The use of this term becomes so habitual that in most cases it completely supplants given names or nicknames or, if the *compadres* are relatives, the kinship terms previously employed.

At christening, another godfather is chosen for a boy and another godmother for a girl. Godparents are not chosen, however, for the first communion. At marriage, each partner selects someone to accompany him to the altar and to act as a witness to the ceremony. There is a tendency to think of this person as another godparent, although he is not considered a *compadre* by the parents. In some cases, he may be the same person as the baptismal or the christening godparent, but such is not common.

If, as usually occurs, a married person is selected as a godparent of the child, the spouse is always selected as the other godparent. There

is no special ceremony attached to either the selection of a godparent or his notification of that fact. It was once customary to select the father's parents as the godparents of the first child, and the mother's parents as the godparents of the second child. This custom is no longer followed in all cases.

The system of *compadrio* is functionally an extension of the family institution. It provides for the child, as it were, a second set of parents. Should, for any reason, either one or both of the natural parents be unable to discharge their normal obligations toward the child, the godparents will substitute them. In the meantime, the godparents are expected, as necessary, to supplement parental care and counsel. At any time when the parents are unable to meet a crisis in the child's life, the godparents may be sought out and are expected to do everything possible for the child.

The relationship between *compadres* is of so intimate a character that certain proscriptions are laid upon their conduct. Under no circumstances may a *compadre* marry a *comadre* or have sexual relations with her or dance with her. As an informant put it, "*compadre* and *comadre* must have great respect for each other." "Imagine it!" exclaimed a villager, "I hear that there in Piracema a *compadre* married a *comadre*. Here in the village there has never been anything like that. A *compadre* and a *comadre* have a spiritual relationship. If they marry, maybe nothing will happen in this life. But in the next, they'll suffer plenty."

The godchild is expected to be affectionate to his godparents and to respect and obey them, an obligation which is symbolized in etiquette. Upon meeting a godparent, as has been indicated, he is expected to ask his (or her) blessing and to receive it with humility.<sup>24</sup> Formerly, he was also expected to kiss the hand of the godparent, but this custom appears to be disappearing.

Of several young men who were asked, "What are the obligations of a godchild to his godparents?", the replies were:

To respect them.

To respect them as you do your own mother and father.

To ask their blessing and to respect them greatly.  
To ask their blessing.

<sup>24</sup> See Etiquette, p. 121.



To receive the blessing and to respect them.  
To ask their blessing and to kiss their hand.

A godfather or godmother sometimes exercises greater control over a godchild than its own parents. To an 18-year-old girl in the village who wished to accompany a group who were going in a truck to a neighboring town, her mother said, "Your godmother won't like it." The girl, however, decided to go anyway. "When I saw the truck," said the godmother later, "and someone told me my godchild was in it, I went right down there and told her to get down off the truck. She got down in a hurry. What does a girl mean to go out that way when she may get home late? I won't have it."

At times, the godchild may assume obligations of a material character toward a godparent. One young woman in the village, for instance, who has a steady income as postmistress, gives her spinster godmother 50 cruzeiros each month.

The relation of *compadrio* binds together a large portion of the community. Since each child has two godparents at his baptism and one also at his christening, and his parents themselves may be the godparents of other children, in due time a large number of people will be related in this way to a large number of other persons, and eventually these interrelationships will become so numerous that they extend throughout the entire community.

Of 25 persons who were asked how many godchildren each had, none had less than 1 and one person had 40; the average was 8. Another person replied, "More than a hundred." A villager who was asked to prepare a list of his *compadres* gave the names of 53 persons, 42 of whom reside in the community. Three live in one neighboring town and two in another. Three others live in a small town about 25 miles away and one lives in each of two other towns about 30 and 60 miles away, respectively. One is in São Paulo. Of the 53 *compadres*, 7 are relatives: 4 are brothers, 1 is the man's father, 1 his son, and 1 is his son-in-law. The other 46 bear no blood relationship to him.

The institution appears to be functioning as effectively today as in the past. A village official, upon being asked if he had observed any lessening of respect between godparents and godchildren and between *compadres*, replied, with positive

conviction, "None at all. In every time and place there are always some people who are no good. But there are no more today than there used to be."

### RITUAL, CEREMONY, AND BELIEF

Indicating the fact that, in the area under study, religious ideas and practices occupy a prominent place in the thought and other behavior of local inhabitants, the weekly newspaper in the nearby town of Boa Vista gives over a generous portion of each issue to announcements of coming religious *festas* or accounts of past *festas* and other news of similar character. In the issue of January 3, 1948, for example, a headline in bold type which runs entirely across the front page, reads: "Send in your *Prendas*<sup>22</sup> for the auction to be held on January 4, 5, and 6 in honor of the church of the miracle-working São Benedito. *Prendas* can be sent either to those in charge of the *festa* or to this newspaper and São Benedito will thank you with his blessing." Underneath is a reproduction of the image of São Benedito and a prayer. The upper third of the front page is entirely given over to the announcement of the *festa*.

Rituals and ceremonies of a religious character which are performed in the village church, in the various chapels scattered about the community, and in private homes are primarily Roman Catholic in derivation, as also is the belief predominant in the community. The principal sacred functionary is the *padre*, who is appointed by the ecclesiastical authorities and is assisted by the patronesses and the acolytes.

One observes in the rituals and ceremonies, however, which are predominantly Roman Catholic in derivation, especially those held without the attendance of the *padre* in the wayside chapels and in private homes, as well as in the belief of almost all persons in the community, certain elements of folk derivation. In local thought and practice, for example, the work of the "blessers," which is believed to have magical efficacy, assumes a prominent role. Belief and practice with reference to the *santos* are extensively encrusted with folk elements, as similarly are those with reference to the *almas*, the *promessas*, and certain *festas*.

<sup>22</sup> See discussion of the *Prendas* in Division of Labor, p. 58.



Moreover, not all ceremony and belief in the community is now identified with the Roman Catholic Church. In comparatively recent years, three Protestant sects have invaded the area, as also has Spiritualist belief and practice.

A census taken in 1888 listed the entire population of the community as belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1934, or the most recent date on which information of this sort can be obtained, local inhabitants classified themselves with reference to religious affiliation in the following way:<sup>26</sup>

Sect.:	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Roman Catholic.....	1,878	1,716	3,594	95.1
Protestant.....	64	38	102	2.7
Spiritualist.....	36	21	57	1.8
Others <sup>27</sup> .....	9	4	13	.3
No data.....	3	1	4	.1
	1,990	1,790	3,780	100.0

Masses and *rezas* at which the *padre* is present and officiates, are held regularly each week in the village church. At both Mass and *reza*, there is usually a sermon. A number of religious *festas*, at each of which there ordinarily is one or more processions, are held periodically. Usually one or more *romarias*, or pilgrimages, are made each year to noted shrines. These activities are described in greater detail below.

An association at the village church known as the *Apostolado da Oração do Sagrado Coração de Jesus* (Apostleship of Prayer of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) sponsors prayer and other religious activities. Both men and women are admitted. Children, up to 15 years of age, provided they have taken first communion, are accepted into a subdivision called the *Crusada*. For the admission of adult members, a ceremony known as "the delivery of the *fitá* (ribbon)" is held on occasion in the church at the close of a *reza*. The new members kneel at the altar, the men to the right and the women to the left. Those who are already members gather to either side, in keeping with their sex. The *padre* speaks a few words appropriate to the occasion and then a patroness puts a ribbon about the neck of each new member in turn, after which the new members are given *abraços*, the men by the men, the women by the women. On

the occasion of a procession, the men wear dark red sleeveless cloaks over their clothes. The children of the *Crusada* dress in white.

At least one family in the community builds a *crèche* for Christmas and Epiphany. This present year, it was constructed by the 12-year-old daughter, with the assistance of her grandmother. In a corner of the principal room a platform was built. Over it, at the rear, a semicircular canopy was erected. Both platform and canopy were then decorated with Spanish moss, artificial flowers and streamers cut from crepe paper. A stalk of maize was stood up to each side of the canopy. Under the latter, at the back, there were placed small images of Mary and of Joseph and three small images of the Infant Jesus in a cradle, as well as a representation of a cow. In front were a black doll, made of celluloid, a row of lead soldiers, several tufts of grass, and a dish with water on which a few celluloid ducks floated. Above the images, gilt and silver balls were hung. "When I was a little girl," said the grandmother, "My parents used to make a *crèche* each year on the 24th of December. After they died, my sister made one every year until her death. After that, I have seen that a *crèche* is built each Christmas. One must not fail to do this, or something awful may happen." On the evening of the 6th of January, a *reza*, or ceremony of prayers and singing, in which friends and neighbors participated, was held at the *crèche*.

#### CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

The church is by far the principal structure in the village (pl. 16, a). It is located at one corner of the *praga*. It is about 60 feet long, 33 feet wide, and 25 feet high. Above the roof is a belfry, topped by a dome and a wooden cross. The building is solidly constructed. The walls are about 20 inches thick. Formerly of *taipa*, they were rebuilt with brick in 1881. They are calcimined outside in pale yellow and inside in white with stenciled designs in blue. The central altar is simple in design and supports an image of Nossa Senhora da Penha (Our Lady of Penha) about 4 feet high. A smaller image of Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Mercy) stands in front of the larger image. To the left of the communion rail is a smaller altar, with an image of Nossa Senhora do Desterro (of the Flight [into Egypt]), about 3

<sup>26</sup> According to unpublished data taken from the census sheets.

<sup>27</sup> Identification of the sects included in this category was not possible at the time these data were obtained. An accompanying statement, however, specified that "no Jews, Postivists, or Free Thinkers are included."



feet high and a smaller image of São Norberto. On a nearby pedestal is an image of Nossa Senhora das Dores (Sorrows). To the right of the communion rail is an altar similar in size to the one opposite and supporting an image of São Bom Jesus da Prisão and a smaller image of Santo Antonio. To the left of this altar is a pedestal with the image of Nossa Senhora das Graças (Grace).<sup>208</sup> Between the entrance and the communion rail, to either side of the aisle, are several rows of benches made of rough boards. Overhead, the space is open to the ceiling, which is of wood and painted white. To either side are four archways which open out into side rooms. To the right, in spaces between arches, are images of Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Rosary) and Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Conception). To the left, arranged likewise, are the images of São Tarcísio and São José. In a room beyond the arches are the baptismal font and an altar, supporting a crucifix. In an adjoining room is another altar with an image of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida (Apparition). In a third room, there is still another altar with, below, an image of Jesus reclining in death, enclosed in a glass case and, above, images of Santa Catarina and São Roque. A life-size image of Jesus bearing the cross rests upon a nearby table, whence it is taken out to be carried in the processions of Holy Week. In another room are kept the standards and platforms used to carry the images in procession. To the right of the congregation, there is a stairway which leads up to a small choir loft over the entrance to the church, and also to the belfry. Near the entrance to the stairway, is a room with the confessional and an altar on which are an image of São Benedito and a crucifix. Adjoining this room is the sacristy. Behind the central altar are three unused rooms. Over them are three other rooms, in one of which the *padre* sleeps when in the village.

In front of the church and to one side are usually from one to two *mastros*, as may be seen from plate 16, *a*, together with the *corêto*, a small, square platform with a roof of *sapé*, in which occasionally is held an auction of *prendas* at a religious *feira*. (See Division of Labor, p. 58.)

In the bend of the river several miles to the north of the village is a large chapel (or small

church) in which Mass occasionally is held and, in September, a *feira* for the patron *santo*, Nossa Senhora da Aparecidinha (pl. 16, *d*). To the east of the village, about 7 miles away, on the margin of the community, is a recently restored chapel, originally built in the seventeenth century. About 5 miles to the south of the village is a modest chapel, the successor of one originally built in the same century. A small chapel is located in the village cemetery. Along the roads of the community one often sees smaller wayside chapels with one or more crosses. A chapel of this sort is also located at the edge of the village. Occasionally one of these is large enough for Mass to be celebrated in it, as is done at infrequent intervals at the one located about 6 miles to the southeast of the village. Another is about 5 miles to the north (pl. 16, *g*). Located about a hundred feet from the road, it is around 8 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet high. The walls are of *pau a pique* and the roof is of tile. The floor is of earth. The front of the chapel is open, there being only a low gate to keep out stray animals. Inside, the walls are calcimined in white, with a wide border of dark red extending up about 15 inches from the floor. Along the rear wall is a rough altar made of odd pieces of board. Above it, three wooden crosses may be seen. The two larger crosses pass through holes cut in the altar and rest upon the floor of the chapel. One is about 7 feet high, with a crosspiece 3 feet long and the other is about 5 feet high, with a crosspiece 2½ feet long. Both are painted blue and are covered with artificial floral pieces, made of red and silver leaves. A white cloth is looped over the larger cross. Between the two is a much smaller cross about 20 inches high, with a crosspiece 11 inches long. It is unpainted. Above the altar is an arch made of strips of *taguara* wrapped with crepe paper and covered with artificial flowers. Stretching from corner to corner of the chapel overhead are streamers made of crepe paper of different colors. To each side of the chapel, outside, are two rude shelters, each with a roof of *sapé* supported on rough poles. The largest is about 15 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 9 feet high; the other is slightly smaller. Between the front of the chapel and the road is a *mastro* around 20 feet high, with the "flag" of Santa Cruz (see Almas and the Santa Cruz, p. 167). Other wayside chapels with crosses

<sup>208</sup> Perhaps better known in the United States as Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal.



usually are much smaller, although in some cases the walls are of brick and the floor of cement. At none of these smaller chapels, however, is there a shelter for worshippers.

#### SACRED FUNCTIONARIES

The present *padre*, as has been indicated, does not live in the village but comes over each Saturday from the seminary in a neighboring town where he teaches during the other days of the week.

He used to ride over on horseback; since the recent installation of the local bus line,<sup>200</sup> however, he comes by bus. While in the village, he uses a room in the rear of the church and takes his meals at the *fazenda*, which lies at the edge of the village. He returns to the seminary Sunday evening or Monday morning.

His predecessor was an older man who, until his death about 2 years ago, had lived for many years in the village. He appears to have been an especially able man, well liked and respected throughout the community. "He was a mighty good *padre*," said a villager. "Everyone thought highly of him. He wasn't above talking with anyone, no matter who he was, and at *festas* he always had as good a time as his people." "He never came near you," said another villager, "without stopping to chat a bit."

The present *padre* is a younger man, about 33 years of age. He is somewhat shy and retiring. His failure to participate heartily in *festas* as did his predecessor and, due to being absent during most of the week, to visit about the community with local residents other than a few who assume a prominent role in the activities of the church, is adversely commented upon. "He means well," said a farmer, "but he doesn't seem to be able to put much life into *festas*." "He's a good man," said a villager, "but we don't see much of him except at Mass or in the processions." His youth and lack of effectiveness in public address also reduce his prestige. "He's a good man," said a farmer, "but he's too young." "He fulfills his obligations faithfully," remarked a villager, "but in his sermons and when he reads from the gospels he doesn't have that warmth of expression you like to see."

Each Saturday evening the *padre* officiates at a *reza*<sup>201</sup> and each Sunday morning at two Masses. He is also present at the more important religious *festas* and participates in the processions on these occasions. On the "day of the Holy Kings" (Epiphany) he passes through the village, "blessing" the homes of his parishioners and sprinkling holy water in each room. On occasion, he also "blesses" a new house which a local inhabitant has erected and, on Palm Sunday, branches of palm brought in to the church by parishioners.

Three local boys, serving as acolytes, assist the *padre* at Mass and *reza*. They range in age from 9 to 14 years. Each is quite proud of his function.

The *capelão* is a layman who, on request, directs a religious ceremony at a private home, a wayside cross or chapel or at the cemetery, repeating prayers and chanting hymns. A *capelão* in the village knows of 10 other persons in the community who are *capelães*. Nine of these, like himself, are men. Several other persons act as assistants, including a few women. None receives any remuneration at any time. One of them explained:

You become a *capelão* by learning from others. When I was a small boy, I was always going to Mass and *reza*. My mother also taught me many prayers. My father was a *capelão* and, when he died, my older brother became one. One day, a neighbor asked him to say prayers at his house and I went along to help him with the responses. My brother told me I also ought to become a *capelão*. Not long after that, they were having novenas at the Santa Cruz. I went to see what I could do and I got along quite well. Since that time, I too have been a *capelão*.

On occasion, members of the Apostleship assist the *padre* with religious activities. One of these assumes an especially prominent role in *festas*, especially in arranging the processions. Of her activities, she says:

I decorate all the *andores* (platforms for carrying images) that are used in the processions. And when the time comes, I help get everyone lined up and in order. I put fresh flowers in the church each Sunday and I also decorate it whenever there is a *festa*. At Mass, I take up the offering and sometimes I help read the prayers. When the Bishop came for the christening, the *padre* told me only the Sunday before that he would be here on the following Wednesday. I asked the *padre* "What can be done in so little time?" He said, "Do what you can." Monday, I went to town and bought everything I needed. I came home and made little paper pennants to decorate the streets. I got flowers and put them in the

<sup>200</sup> See Transportation, p. 95, and Isolation and Contact, p. 104.

<sup>201</sup> See Mass, *Reza*, and Novena, p. 154.



church. I also arranged a dinner here at home for the Bishop. I made an enormous white cake with figures, on top, of a chalice and the Host. The Bishop said he didn't have the courage to cut the cake, it was so pretty. He even wept a little before leaving. He said that he was very grateful for the reception that had been prepared for him.

Later when I went to São Paulo to ask him for new vestments for our *padre*, I found the room full of women from the League of Catholic Ladies. Many of them had on huge diamond rings; but when the Bishop came in, he walked right across the room and spoke to me first. I said to him, "So you remember me?" He replied, "Dona Francisca, I am a grateful man, I have not forgotten what you did for me."

About 5 or 6 years ago, a *missão*, composed of four itinerant friars of the Redemptionist order, spent a few days at the village. They are remembered as "very good preachers." Food and shelter were provided by the local inhabitants during their stay in the village. In addition to delivering sermons, they baptized a number of children and performed the marriage ceremony for those who presented themselves.

The roles of the village bell ringer and the *leiloeiro* have already been considered.<sup>201</sup>

#### SANTOS<sup>202</sup>

The conceptions regarding the saints, disseminated in the community by the ecclesiastical functionaries, vary in no essential detail from the official conceptions of the Roman Catholic Church. When a local inhabitant is asked regarding any particular belief, he usually replies in keeping with the official conception. The approved idea that the image merely represents an actual being, for instance, and is employed to call this being to mind, is reflected in the words of a villager when he said, "The image is to show that in heaven that *santo* exists." Similarly, the idea that there may be several different images to represent the same being according to different "devotions," is reflected in the words of a young mother when she said, "There are Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto (Our Lady of Easy Childbirth), Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Mercy), Nossa Senhora da Penha (Our Lady of Penha), and many others; but all of them are the same Nossa Senhora."

"Jesus was a man who suffered much," remarked a farmer, "and for each suffering there is a way of representing it." The idea that a saint has a universal character and is not to be identified with one locality only, is reflected in the words of a farm woman when she said, "There, in Pirapora, is São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. Here in the village is São Bom Jesus da Prisão (of the Prison) and in Itú [a community several miles to the west] there is São Bom Jesus da Cana Verde (of Green Cane);<sup>203</sup> but all of these are the same *santo*."

Behavior, however, varies considerably from this official conception, with reference to both the image and the saint. There is a rather generalized tendency to act as if each image were identified with a different being. *Promessas* are made, for instance, to Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto, Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat, and not just to Nossa Senhora. When one inquires of a local inhabitant to which *santo* he is most devoted, a specific representation is usually mentioned; for example, "São Bom Jesus de Pirapora," "Nossa Senhora da Aparecida."

Although, when specifically asked regarding the matter, most local inhabitants will distinguish between image and saint, there is a rather generalized tendency to act as if they were identical. This fact is symbolized in the tendency to use the term *santo* when speaking about the image. "The *santos* which are *mais milagrosos* (work most miracles)," said a farm woman, "are the older *santos*. This is because the newer *santos* are made, while the older ones were found. Look at São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. He's more powerful than any other *santo*; and he was found on a rock in the river." There is also a widespread tendency to identify a few images of saints with specific localities. "São Bom Jesus de Pirapora is 'of Pirapora,'" said a farm woman. "He is called that because he was found near that town."

In spite of a different conception propagated by the religious authorities, Mary and Jesus are almost universally thought of as *santos* of the same category as St. Anthony, St. John, etc. And, although the idea is rare that the image is God, the idea does exist in the community. A local girl who was asked by the *padre*, "How many

<sup>201</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 56.

<sup>202</sup> The literal translation of this term is "saints." Since, however, the connotation of *santos* is somewhat different, the term is retained in its local form.

<sup>203</sup> "I don't know why he is called that," the informant further said. "It may be because when Jesus was a prisoner, they put a stalk of cane in his hand and made him strike himself in the face with it."



Gods are there?," instead of giving the expected reply as stated in the catechism, said, "At home, my Aunt Chica has one," and explained that in her house there was an image of Jesus crucified. She was called *uma boba* (a fool), however, by a woman in the village. "Everyone should know that Jesus is there in the heavens and the image is only a representation of him."

The official conception that one prays to the *santos* so that they will intercede with the Supreme Deity to obtain from Him the answer to a request, is known rather generally in the community. "If Santo Antonio doesn't help you find what you've lost," said a woman in the village, "it's because God doesn't want you to find it. If God doesn't want you to have something, the *santo* does not ask Him, isn't that so?" Actual behavior almost always implies, however, a different conception. Prayers are usually addressed only to the *santo*, and he alone is held responsible for the failure to obtain that which was desired. Moreover, he is not asked to intercede with the Supreme Deity but himself to grant the favor. *Promessas* are also made directly to the *Santo* and fulfilled only in his name. If a request goes unanswered, sympathetic magic may be applied to the image of the *santo* to force the reluctant response. The image may be taken from the *oratório*, a "hat" which has been made from the comb of "malignant wild bees" put on the "head" and the image hid behind the door. If the desired response continues to delay, the image may suffer other indignities, such as being hung by the neck in a well, held over a fire or, in extreme cases, put into the *pilão* and smashed up.

Treatment of an image in this fashion is censured, however, by many persons in the community. "If you make a *promessa* to Santo Antonio," said an elderly woman in the village, "and he doesn't do anything for you, it's better to keep quiet because, if you don't, he never will listen to you. These people who mistreat a *santo* are no good. *Credol!*<sup>224</sup> What kind of people is it that do things like that."<sup>225</sup>

As implied in several of the remarks cited above, the tendency is rather generalized to consider the primary function of a *santo* to be that of aiding an individual in obtaining something which he needs or desires. With few exceptions, prayers to him have this objective.

Known and referred to, then, as specific *santos* by the local inhabitants are the following:

Nossa Senhora da Aparecida	São Braz
Nossa Senhora da Aparecidinha	São Geraldo
Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto	São Gonçalo
Nossa Senhora da Conceição	São Jerônimo
Nossa Senhora do Desterro	São João Batista
Nossa Senhora das Dores	São José
Nossa Senhora das Graças	São Lazaro
Nossa Senhora da Guia	São Lourenço
Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat	São Norberto
Nossa Senhora da Piedade	Santo Onofre
Nossa Senhora da Penha	São Pedro
Nossa Senhora dos Remédios	São Roque
Nossa Senhora do Rosário	São Sebastião
São Bom Jesus da Cana Verde	São Tarcisio
São Bom Jesus de Iguape	Santa Barbara
São Bom Jesus de Pirapora	Santa Catarina
São Bom Jesus da Prisão	Santa Cecília
Menino Jesus	Santa Luzia
Divino Espírito Santo	Santa Rita
Santo Antonio	Santa Rosa
São Benedito	Santa Terezinha
São Bento	

Also considered as a *santo* by several persons in the community is Antoninho Marmo, a boy who, even before his early death, was thought to possess miraculous power (Willems, 1940). His grave in a São Paulo cemetery is visited each year, on All Soul's Day, by thousands of persons. "They say that once a young man in São Paulo was very sad and disheartened," remarked a farm woman. "He was out of work. One day as he was leaning up against the wall of Consolação cemetery, Santo Antoninho Marmo suddenly appeared there among the flowers. He asked him why he was so sad. The young man replied that he had no money and could not find any work to do. Then Santo Antoninho said to him, 'Go to such-and-such a place and there you will find work.' He went to that place and, sure enough, he got a job." In lieu of images, photographs of the boy are employed and are to be seen in many homes of the community.

The *Divino Espírito Santo* (Holy Ghost), represented as a dove, is thought of as a *santo*, although there is no "cult of the Divino" as is to be

<sup>224</sup> A shortened form of the Apostle's Creed widely used in the community when one speaks or thinks of that which might harm him and against which he desires protection.

<sup>225</sup> The same informant also recalled that "once I was in Piracema and I saw a woman there who had made a *promessa* to Santo Onofre so the man she had been living with would come back to her. But Santo Onofre hadn't listened and so she struck him an awful blow."



found in certain other communities of Brazil. The *anjo da guarda* (guardian angel), which each person is presumed to have "to protect him from all harm," is also considered a *santo* by at least some of the local inhabitants. "He's just like all the other *santos*" remarked a woman in the village. "Like São Benedito and Santo Antonio." "Every night," said a young mother, "I pray to the guardian angel and all the other *santos*." The guardian is represented as an angel, with wings spread, hovering near a child which is sometimes pictured as in danger of falling over a precipice. Occasionally, an image, made of metal, is employed. "It's a good thing to hang up in a truck," said a woman in the village. "It protects you from all harm."

One of the more popular *santos* in the community is São Benedito. "All the *santos* work miracles," said a young farm woman, "but in these parts people make many *promessas* to São Benedito." The image is black and the *santo* is referred to as a *preto* (black).<sup>200</sup>

Several persons indicated their preference among the *santos* as follows:

I pray to all the *santos*, but especially to São Benedito and Santo Antonio.

I like best São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. He's a great miracle worker.

I pray to all the *santos*; but here in our house we especially like Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto, Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat, and Nossa Senhora da Guia.

We in our family like Nossa Senhora da Aparecida very much. She is the best worker of miracles.

I have faith in all the *santos*; but I go especially to São Benedito for help.

Santo Antonio is my favorite; you ask him for something and he gives it to you.

I pray to all the *santos*, but for me São Bom Jesus de Pirapora is the best miracle worker.

My advocate is Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat; I also am devoted to São Braz and Santo Antonio and I pray to the Guardian Angel, too.

I prefer São Bom Jesus de Pirapora and São Benedito.

I was named for Santo Antonio. If you ask him for something, he takes care of you right away.

I pray more to "Santo" Antoninho Marmo.

Reference has already been made to the images in the village church (see Churches and Chapels, p. 144). In the large chapel to the north of the village, an image of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, enclosed in a glass case, occupies the central

place on the only altar. In front and a little to one side, is an image of São Geraldo and, opposite, on the other side, one of Santa Terezinha. On wooden supports, located at intervals around the walls, are images of São Benedito, São Roque, Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms, and Santa Rita. At the feet of the latter are a number of photographs taken in the *Casa dos Milagres* (House of Miracles) at the shrine of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, in the town of Pirapora. In a small room to the left of the altar, is another image of São Benedito.

At the chapel several miles to the east of the village, an image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, about 30 inches high, occupies the niche on the only altar, with a smaller image of São José on one side. Resting on the floor, one at each end of the altar, are figures identified locally as representations of Adam and Eve, which apparently once served as altar supports (pl. 16, e). On a small table in front of the altar are images of Jesus, Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, São Benedito, Santo Antonio, Santa Cecilia, Santa Rosa, Santa Terezinha, and São Bento. On one wall are lithographs of Nossa Senhora da Conceição and Santo Antonio; on another wall is a lithograph with the inscription, "the true and only picture of the Virgin of the Highway of Leon." On a small table nearby is another lithograph with the inscription, "the true and only picture of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora." On the main altar in the chapel about 5 miles to the south of the village is another and larger image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição.

Each image in the church in the village and in the various chapels of the community belongs to the respective sanctuary. No image is the personal property of a local resident who has placed it in the church, or one of the chapels, while retaining actual ownership of it.

Of special significance are the household images referred to locally as "the *santos* here in the house." All have been acquired by some member of the family, living or deceased, either by purchase or as a gift. The act of acquiring an image, however, is never referred to as a "purchase;" to employ this term is considered "disrespectful." *Troca* (exchange) is used instead.

Shortly after being acquired, the household image is taken to the village church to be blessed by

<sup>200</sup> The image of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida is also black.



the *padre*. Should the family also be giving a *feita* in honor of the *santo* in question, as occurred recently with reference to Santo Antonio, the members of the family, together with their relatives and friends, may form a procession to carry the image back to the house. The image is then placed in an *oratório* which usually is located in the principal room but sometimes is in the bedroom. Nearly all the *oratórios* are of wood, relatively small and crudely made. Rarely is one as pretentious as that in the house of a villager, which "was carved with a penknife, in the time of the Jesuits."<sup>27</sup> It stands about 5 feet high and is 2 feet wide and 14 inches deep. The form of the front portion is rectangular while, at the back, the upper part is semicircular in shape. The lower half of the inside walls is covered with flowered paper and the upper half with silk, on which the figure of a dove has been embroidered to represent the Divino Espírito Santo. On a raised platform is a small image of São João and three images of doves. Two bouquets of artificial flowers, white and rose-colored, are also on the altar.

More commonly, however, house *oratórios* are similar to that in the farm home of Seu Antonio. Built many years ago by a neighbor who was handy with tools, it has the form of a small house about 20 inches high, 10 inches wide, and 6 inches deep. It is made of wood, unpainted and darkened with age. The front wall is composed of two doors on hinges, held shut by a small wooden clasp which turns on a nail. Crowning the roof is a small cross set into the wood. Inside the *oratório* are images of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, São Gonçalo, and São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. In a wooden frame about 6 by 4 inches, set on a table in front of the *oratório*, is a photograph of Antoninho Marmo. In this house, as often occurs, the *oratório* is attached to the wall; in about an equal number of cases, however, it is placed on a small table.

Candles are burned in front of the images at regular intervals, as well as on special occasions. Many families, if unable to attend Mass, light a candle at the hour it is being held. Some families

burn one every Monday. A candle may also be lighted upon the occasion of making a *promessa*.<sup>28</sup> Some families used to press oil from castor-beans to burn for this purpose. A wick was made of cotton and placed, together with the oil, in a small vessel.

Formerly, in some families, the faces of the images were covered "against any evil deed done by a member of the household." "My mother," remarked the wife of a village official, "would always cover up the *oratório* when one of us children had done something we should not have done. She would say, 'The *santos* don't want to see you today. You have been very bad.'"

Although an image may be hung from the bed of a child or other unmarried person, it must never be hung from the bed in which a man and a woman sleep. "*Num presta*" (It will bring evil effects of a magical character), say local inhabitants. "They will have bad luck. Nothing will go right." The image may be kept in the bedroom, however, if placed in an *oratório* or on a small shelf attached to the wall.

As has been indicated, one often sees colored lithographs of *santos* on the walls of local houses. At several farm homes visited, for example, the following lithographs were observed:

*Farm 1.*—On the wall of the front room: Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, São Roque, São João, São Norberto, Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto, Santo Antonio, Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, Nossa Senhora da Guia, São Benedito, Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat and Jesus on the Cross. On another wall: Nossa Senhora dos Remédios.<sup>29</sup>

*Farm 2.*—On the wall of the front room: São Bento, Santa Bárbara, Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto, São José, Santa Luzia, Santa Catarina; together with a hand of Jesus, showing wounds.

*Farm 3.*—On the wall of the front room: São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, São Bom Jesus de Iguaçu, Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms.

*Farm 4.*—On a wall: São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, Santo Antonio, Nossa Senhora da Conceição, and Antoninho Marmo.

*Farm 5.*—On a wall of the front room: Nossa Senhora das Dores, the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Sacred Heart of Mary.

The *santos* are ordinarily thought of as possessing human feelings and sentiments. São Benedito,

<sup>27</sup> A local expression which is used rather loosely and, in fact, means merely, "long ago." As previously indicated, the Jesuits owned a farm in the community in the eighteenth century. (See *Roots in the Past*, p. 5.)

<sup>28</sup> See *Promessa*, p. 173.

<sup>29</sup> "When my granddaughter was ill," said the grandmother, "I made a *promessa* to get a Nossa Senhora dos Remédios if she got well."



for instance, is said to be quite sensitive and easily offended. "After a *missa* or Mass, we go to visit São Benedito first," said a farm woman. "And when we have a procession in which he goes out with other *santos*, São Benedito is always carried in front; for if he isn't, the procession will have to be given up. He will make it rain, or something. He's very sensitive." São Gonçalo is thought to be fond of dancing. At a  *festa*, it is said, "he unties the legs." "São Gonçalo is a gay fellow," said a farm woman. "Haven't you noticed he always carries a little *violão*?"

Certain *santos* are thought to be especially efficacious with reference to specific requests. Santo Antonio, for example, is called upon to assist young women to marry. He is also thought to be "the *santo* of lost things," as a grandmother put it. "He helps you find what you lose." São Gonçalo is called upon to assist widows and older women to marry. "*Santo Antonio fais achá,*" said an older woman in the village, "*e São Gonçalo fais casá.*" (Santo Antonio finds things for you and São Gonçalo gets you married.) "It does no good for a young girl to ask him though," said an elderly woman, "because he won't listen to her; only to an older woman." Then she added:

São Gonçalo do Amarante  
Casamenteco das veia  
Fazê casá as moça  
Que mar fizero ela?<sup>100</sup>

São Gonçalo is considered to be the "protector" of players of the *violão*, of domestic animals, and of planted crops. He is also thought to be especially efficacious in healing diseased or injured legs. São Bento is said to protect especially against snakes. "When you go into the timber," said a villager, "it's good to ask São Bento to protect you." São Sebastião and São Roque are thought to protect especially against smallpox, "or any contagious disease in either men or animals." São Jerônimo and Santa Barbara "protect against lightning." "But you must not call upon both of them at the same time," said an elderly woman. "People say they are married and don't get along very well. If you call on both of them, the lightning will destroy everything."

Of great significance in the community, is the widely held conception that all *santos* aid in illness. "The *curandeiros* 'make prayers,'" said a young mother. "But it is the *santos* who cure. If you have faith, they 'do the miracle.'"

To the image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, which occupies the main altar in the chapel about 5 miles to the south of the village, is attributed miraculous power to bring rain in time of drought. Since, to farmers dependent upon moisture for their crops, rain is an absolute necessity, any prolonged drought is an extremely serious matter. When rain completely fails, the image is taken from the chapel and brought, in procession, to the village and kept there until it rains. Although the *padre* does not hold the idea, it is widely believed that the *santa* will cause it to rain "since she does not want to be away from her chapel and she knows that only by making it rain will she be returned to it."

On November 23, 1947, for instance, after many weeks without rain, a number of local inhabitants, led by the *padre*, went to the chapel and brought the image in procession to the village. Behind the *padre* and a little to each side, walked an acolyte. Behind each acolyte came a column of children, followed by a column of girls and women. Then came the image, carried by four men and followed by the other men walking in a group. About 200 persons were in the procession. The sun was blazing in a cloudless sky.

After entering the village, the procession made its way to the church, where the image was placed at the side of the altar. The building was soon filled and many persons stood outside the open doors and windows. Almost all countenances revealed attitudes of reverence and respect. In the *vendas*, later that day, and wherever farmers and villagers gathered, conversation was almost entirely given over to accounts of the procession and to voicing the expectation that a miracle was soon to be performed. "This *santa* really brings rain," remarked a farmer. "What is needed, though, is faith. If we have enough faith, we will get rain." "Last year, remember?" recalled a villager. "She saved the crops. And she'll do it again this year. I'm sure."

Villagers and farmers were awakened the next morning by the sound of rain falling. It continued throughout the day and on into the evening.

<sup>100</sup> São Gonçalo of Amarante,  
Matchmaker for old women,  
Help the girls get married too!  
What harm have they done?



On every hand, one heard joyous comments. "Do you see what a miracle-working *santa* we've got?" proudly asked a villager. "Our *santa* is a strong *santa*," said another. "If you want it to rain, all you have to do is to ask, and look at it rain! The ground is already soaked." "If I'm not mistaken," remarked another villager, "It hasn't rained in Piracema. They ought to take the *santa* there too."

The following account of the event, given later by a young man living on a farm near the village, reflects common ideas and attitudes:

Us farmers were needing rain badly. The beans were all turning yellow. So last Sunday we went to the chapel where Nossa Senhora da Conceição is kept and carried her to the village. Whenever we have a drought, it's our custom to go and get her and put her in the village church. And then it is sure to rain. This time it came earlier than usual. Some years the drought lasts nearly 6 months and it won't rain a drop until we go and get her. The life of a farmer depends on rain. If we don't get it, we're "done for." It's for this reason that we have such faith in our Nossa Senhora da Conceição.

There is some confusion in the minds of local residents regarding the *padroeira* (patron saint) of the village. Although the *padre* and other religious leaders, as well as most of the older inhabitants, identify the *padroeira* as Nossa Senhora da Piedade and each year a *festa* is held in her honor during which she is referred to as the *padroeira* of the village, some persons in the community say that Nossa Senhora da Penha is the patron saint. In support of this contention, they point to the fact that the image of Nossa Senhora da Penha occupies the principal place on the main altar of the village church. Others say that Nossa Senhora da Piedade used to be the patron saint but that sometime in the past she was substituted.

The confusion seems to have its origin in events which took place many decades ago and have largely been forgotten. As has been indicated, a chapel in honor of Nossa Senhora da Penha was erected in 1701 at the place where the village now stands. Somewhere else in the community, probably at a point about a mile away now known as the *Freguesia Velha* (the Old Parish), there once stood a chapel which had been erected in honor of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, although all evidence of its existence has now disappeared. Sometime in the past, the principal image in this chapel was brought and placed on the main altar in what is

now the village church. Late in the last century, the *padre* at that time living in the village had the present image of Nossa Senhora da Penha made in France and brought to Brazil and placed in the central position on the main altar. The smaller image of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, as has been indicated, now occupies a position on the altar, in front of this image. Some persons in the community maintain that the village has not grown to be larger because of the fact that, although (according to them) Nossa Senhora da Piedade is the patron saint, the image of Nossa Senhora da Penha is larger and occupies a more prominent position on the altar.

#### RINGING OF THE BELLS

In the belfry of the village church, there are three bells, each slightly different in size. They are rung by the village bell ringer<sup>201</sup> on numerous occasions throughout the year. At midday each Saturday and also at 6 o'clock that evening, they are rung, as villagers say, "to announce the arrival of the *padre* in the village" to officiate at the regular weekly ceremonies. A half hour later they are again rung to remind villagers of the evening *reza* and this is repeated at 7:30, when it is time for the *reza* to begin. They are heard several times on Sunday morning: an hour before the early Mass and again a half hour later; a third time as the Mass begins; and at stated intervals during the Mass itself, when the chiming of one or more bells becomes a part of the ritual. The same routine is repeated for the 10 o'clock Mass. The bells are also rung at midday. They are heard each evening in May and June, when special *rezas* are held. On the occasion of a *festa*, they are rung on the preceding evening and also early in the morning, to announce the *festa*. They are again rung during the *festa*, as the images are carried out of the church in procession and again, later, as they are carried back into the church. They are rung each morning during novenas. At funerals, if the deceased is an adult, the large bell is tolled, slowly, in funeral rhythm; if a child, the smaller bell is made to chime. This continues from the time the body leaves the church until it is carried into the cemetery at the top of the long slope that leads up from the village. As has been indicated, the bells are also rung on special occasions like that of the

<sup>201</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 58; also pl. 3, a.



arrival of the first bus in the village and of the news of the German surrender in the last war.

#### MASS, REZA, AND NOVENA

"The principal hour of religion," said a villager, "is the hour of the Mass." At 7:30 and again at 10 o'clock each Sunday, as has been indicated, Masses are held in the village church. The 10 o'clock ceremony is the regular parish Mass. The earlier one is sometimes said for the soul of a deceased person.<sup>262</sup>

At the 7:30 Mass there is communion but no sermon or singing. At the 10 o'clock Mass on a recent Sunday, following the preliminary rituals common to the Roman Catholic Church, the *padre* read the "Gospel for the First Sunday of the Forty Days (Lent)" in which the fasting of Jesus "during forty days and forty nights" and "the temptation in the wilderness" are recounted, and commented upon this passage. The *padre* then said:

My dear brethren, "the Gospel of the First Sunday of the Forty Days" affords us a lesson from which we all can learn. When Satan tempted Jesus during his fast, Jesus could have yielded for he is Lord of Heaven and Earth and has power to transform stones into bread. But if he had done so, the lesson which he wished to give to the world would have been lost. So he rebuked Satan, saying, "Man does not live by bread alone but also by the Word that comes from God." My dear brethren, there are persons who, although they work without ceasing, from morning until night, still live in want. They should not, for this reason, however, allow themselves to be tempted and to leave the way of God. Because it is not only by bread that man lives but also by the Word of God. Our life here in this world, my dearest brethren, soon passes away. Our purpose in this life is to gain heaven which is our permanent dwelling place. We should never let Satan tempt us with the things of this world. Riches are worth nothing if we leave off worshipping God. We cannot take them to the other world; everything must remain here. When the rich man dies, he may have a coffin which is very fine but it is put beneath the ground and consumed by it like any other. To gain heaven we need to repel the temptations of Satan as Christ taught us to do, saying: "Get thee hence, Satan, for it is written, Worship the Lord thy God and Him only."<sup>263</sup>

Most attendants at Mass are adults, adolescents being fewer than their percentage in the total population. At a recent Mass, for instance, 54

percent of those present were adults, 30 percent small children, and only 16 percent adolescents. Women and girls ordinarily attend Mass in greater percentages, and men and boys in lesser percentages, than their actual distribution in the population. Of 95 persons present at the 10 o'clock Mass on a recent Sunday, for instance, 32, or one-third, were men and boys, 63, or two-thirds, were women and girls. Of the 78 persons present on another occasion, 39 percent of the adults were men, 61 percent were women; 30 percent of the adolescents were boys, 70 percent were girls. The children were about evenly divided as to sex. At Masses held on Sundays immediately preceding Christmas, however, on Palm and Easter Sunday, and during other special seasons in the year, especially at the 10 o'clock Mass, the men and boys are present in larger numbers so that their percentages in the congregation are more in keeping with their distribution in the population. These various data are indicated in tables 13 and 14.

TABLE 13.—Attendance at 7:30 Mass, by age and sex groups, village church, Cruz das Almas, six Sundays during November and December, 1948 and January, 1949

Age group	Sex group—masculine						Percent of total
	Nov. 14	Nov. 21	Dec. 5	Dec. 12	Dec. 26	Jan. 9	
Children.....	6	10	6	4	5	3	15.4
Adolescents.....	3	2	2	2	1	2	4.8
Adults.....	2	2	12	15	7	9	21.6
Total.....	11	14	18	19	11	14	41.8

Age group	Sex group—feminine						Percent of total
	Nov. 14	Nov. 21	Dec. 5	Dec. 12	Dec. 26	Jan. 9	
Children.....	16	12	2	2	2	5	17.8
Adolescents.....	1	5	4	1	—	5	7.2
Adults.....	7	5	10	16	14	11	32.7
Total.....	24	22	16	19	16	21	57.2

blessing. God blesses the hands of the worker and this blessing extends to his house and his family. No one should despise the man who works the land. He struggles from early in the morning until late at night to support his family and to rear his children. This is noble and praiseworthy. He who does no work deserves nothing. There are, however, two kinds of work: physical work and spiritual work. We should not think only of doing physical work. We should think also of our souls. Of what value are earthly goods if one's soul is lost? We should try to come closer to God because when we die we can take no earthly goods with us but only the fruits of our spiritual work. The soul is very precious. We all know how to purify it: humility, chastity, patience, and resignation are the virtues which we should cultivate. Everyone should also come to Holy Mass and observe the sacred Sacraments. This is the road to eternal life. It will take us to Paradise. For the sacrifices we make in order to serve God, we one day will receive a well-deserved reward. Those who receive no reward on this earth, will receive their reward in heaven."

<sup>262</sup> The foo, in this case, is 10 cruzeiros.

<sup>263</sup> In a sermon at another Mass, after reading from the Gospels the parable of the workers in the vineyard, the *padre* said, "Work gives man dignity. It is not a punishment from God; it is a



TABLE 14.—Attendance at 10:00 o'clock Mass, by age and sex groups, village church, Cruz das Almas, four Sundays during November and December 1948

Age group	Sex group—masculine				
	Nov. 14	Nov. 21	Dec. 12	Dec. 26	Percent of total
Children.....	16	11	3	3	16.3
Adolescents.....	4	4	1	12	6.7
Adults.....	8	3	20	25	24.6
Total.....	30	18	24	40	49.0

Age group	Sex group—feminine				
	Nov. 14	Nov. 21	Dec. 12	Dec. 26	Percent of total
Children.....	10	8	10	11	18.0
Adolescents.....	3	1	4	5	6.4
Adults.....	10	4	20	22	25.0
Total.....	23	13	34	38	50.4

Of 17 farms visited, the occupants of 2 rarely miss a Mass, those of 12 farms attend irregularly, and those of 3 farms go to Mass only on special occasions, such as those on which there is a *feita*. "All in our family," said one farmer, "attend Mass every Sunday. It is important to do that." "It's foolish to go to Mass every Sunday," another farmer said, expressing a different attitude. "You can have religion in your own home, can't you?"

The best clothes owned are worn to Mass. An occasional woman may wear a cheap silk or rayon dress and an occasional man or boy a lightweight suit of wool. The more common garments have been indicated in the section on Dress. Everyone except small children wears shoes. All persons are clean and neat, with hair carefully brushed.

Each Sunday a four-page pamphlet, about 7 by 10 inches in size, called *O Domingo* (The Sunday), is distributed free at the 10 o'clock Mass. It is published in São Paulo. In the issue of May 9, 1948, for example, the first page was given over to a reproduction of a painting of Mary and the infant Jesus. Printed across the two inner pages were a brief passage from the Gospels, with comments; a brief article entitled, "Is Spiritualism a Religion? No. Neither is it a Science"; a sermon of about a hundred words in length; a notice to the effect that any young man who might wish to become a priest would be welcome at the Seminary in São Paulo; and a statement asking for funds to aid students studying for the priesthood.

On the last page were a few paragraphs from the catechism; a brief account of the building of a Catholic Church in the city of Porto, Portugal; and a story of a nun who gave a blood transfusion to save the life of the man who had killed her father.

The term *reza* means, literally, *prayer*. It is employed, however, in three senses: (1) to refer to meetings in the village church, especially on Saturday evening, at which the *padre* usually is present and officiates; (2) to refer to gatherings at small wayside chapels and in private homes at which the *padre* is not present and one or more *capelães* lead the prayers, some of the folk ideas regarding which may not be sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities; and (3) to refer to private prayer, either inside the church or elsewhere.

A *reza* is held in the village church, regularly, as has been indicated, each Saturday evening. From 30 to 50 persons usually are present, most of whom are women and girls, a few of whom are men and boys. Several of the men arrive after the *reza* is under way and remain standing in the rear of the church near the door.

Usually the *padre* preaches a short sermon at the *reza*. On a recent Saturday evening, for example, he said:

The "Forty Days" (Lent) begin next week. It is a time of penitence and prayer which precedes the most important *feita* of the Catholic Church, that of Easter; a time of preparation of the soul for Easter communion in obedience to the command of the church to take communion at least once every year. It was not because He liked to do so that Jesus became a prisoner in the Host; it was for the love of souls that He gave His apostles the power to transform the Host into His body. At the Last Supper, He took a piece of bread and said to His apostles, "This is My body, eat this in remembrance of Me." Ever since that time, the miracle of the transformation of the Host is performed daily. At the beginning of the Mass, it is bread and after its consecration it is His actual body. Christ is present in the Host; but we do not see Him with the eyes of the senses, only with the eyes of the soul. We must receive with dignity the body of Christ. It is for this reason that our souls must be free of mortal sin. We must make a full confession before we partake of His body. The women should present themselves at communion decently dressed, with the head covered, and very respectful. After Jesus has entered into our bodies we should pray to Him. The best preparation we can make for the day of Easter is to take communion as many times as we can; if possible, every Sunday. Just as our bodies need food to strengthen them and to preserve them from illness, so our souls need food to strengthen them spiritually and to preserve them from



spiritual illness. How often, by reason of the carelessness of their parents, one sees adults who still have not taken their first communion. They are not interested in giving food to their souls; they are only interested in food for their bodies. My brethren, let us all take communion so that Christ Our Lord can say that all the people of the village have received Him in their hearts.

The term "novena" originally referred to nine consecutive days of *rezas* in honor of a given *santo*. It has now been generalized locally, however, to refer to a series of consecutive *rezas*, held in honor of the same *santo*, even though the number may be less, or more, than nine; and also to refer to any one of these *rezas*. The evenings in April are given over to a novena for São Benedito; those in May, to a novena in honor of Mary;<sup>28</sup> those in the month of June to a novena in honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and those in October, in honor of Nossa Senhora do Rosário. Every evening in March used to be given over to a novena in honor of São José; today, however, the period of time is considerably less. Novenas are usually held in the village church, sometimes at wayside chapels. A procession occasionally becomes part of the ceremony, setting out and returning from the church, or chapel, in which the novena is being observed.

Special novenas are sometimes held. The last one occurred a few years ago, during World War II, and was dedicated to "stopping the war." Each day for 9 consecutive days Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, which is the patron saint of Brazil, was carried in procession, accompanied by a large number of people, "praying and carrying candles." "Everyone took part," recalled a farm woman, "because everyone was anxious for the war to be over. There was no more kerosene. And when one went to buy salt in the *venda*, you got only a tiny little bit. The novena was the idea of the *padre* and also of the people; it was the idea of all." "And it worked," added another woman. "For the war stopped."

*Rezas* are also held at private homes, led by a *capelão*. On last Twelfth Night, for instance, a *capelão* was asked to come to the home of a farmer and lead the following prayers:

Senhor Menino (sung).

For the soul of the farmer's deceased father.

For all the *santos*.

For the souls of those devoted to Senhor Menino.

For the Santa Cruz (sung).

"We might have sung each one of them," said the *capelão*, "but that takes a lot of time and it's more difficult. So we sang only two and prayed the other three. Even then it took us an hour and 20 minutes."

On the seventh day after the death of a young man in the community, four *capelães* held a *reza* for the deceased at the home of his widow. In the front room, a white cloth had been spread over a chair near the wall and, on top of it, two small images of *santos* and a small crucifix, about 4 inches high, together with a vase of flowers and a lighted candle, had been placed. In front of the chair, a reed mat had been extended on the floor on which the *capelães* might kneel during the ceremony. The prayers included a *ladainha* (Litany), a *terço* (a third of the Rosary), and a hymn, *Senhor Amado*, during the singing of which everyone present, including several men and boys who were standing outside the house, knelt. About 15 women, girls, and children were in the room with the *capelães*, while outside were about a dozen men and boys.

One of the *capelães* says that there are six *rezas* which he most often uses: *Deus vos salve* (God bless thee), *Santíssima Trindade* (the Most Holy Trinity), *Salve Rainha* (Hail, Holy Queen), *Regina, Oferecimento*,<sup>29</sup> and *Senhor Amado*. The *capelão* says that the latter is prayed only for the dead, unless especially requested under other circumstances. "It is a very strong (*muito forte*) prayer. Whoever prays it, is freed from every peril." *Rezas* occasionally used by this *capelão* also include "the *Glória da Virgem*, *Oração do Bendito*, *Oração de Jesus Cristo Poderoso* and those for the Guardian Angel, the Santa Cruz and Senhor Bom Jesus do Bomfim."

Many persons in the community pray regularly in private. "I pray a great deal," said a farm woman. "My son sometimes says, 'It isn't good to pray so much.' But I tell him, 'It's true that it isn't good to pray without faith, but I always pray

<sup>28</sup> On the last night of the month, a special ceremony is held, known as the *coroação da santa* (crowning of the saint). A group of 10 girls, from about 5 to 12 years of age, dressed all in white and with wings to represent angels, goes up to the altar and puts a crown upon the "head" of the principal image in the village church. The sanctuary usually is crowded for the ceremony.

<sup>29</sup> The *capelão* identified this prayer as "six or seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer or Ave Maria, as the person wishes; I pray it either for the salvation of a soul or following a prayer to the *santos*."



with faith." Private prayers almost always take the form of specific requests, especially for aid in illness or other personal crisis. Protection is also a prominent theme. "They say you should pray when you get up, before each meal, at noon and at night," said a farm woman. "In the morning, to protect you from every peril, a snake, or anything like that; before meals, to give thanks for the food you are having and also to make certain you will never be without food; at noon and at night, to protect your body and to keep it from all harm." With a few exceptions, prayers are addressed to the *santos*, either to a specific *santo* or, occasionally, to all the *santos* jointly. "I pray to all the *santos* at the same time," remarked a farm woman, "because it's easier."

Many mothers teach their children to pray at night before going to bed. The children of a few families pray every night, others more irregularly. "Ever since I was a small boy," said a man in the village, 32 years old, "I haven't been able to sleep well without saying my prayers. When I remember to say them, I'm asleep in an instant. But if I go to bed and forget them, I keep waking up, startled, wondering what is the matter."

#### CONFESSION AND COMMUNION

Two rituals in which initiative lies largely with the individual are confession and communion. Confession usually precedes communion and consists in relating in private to the *padre*, who is seated in the confessional within hearing distance but unseen, sins of commission or omission and receiving through him absolution. After 12 o'clock that night, no food or drink must be taken until communion. For this reason, the sacrament ordinarily is observed at the 7:30 Mass, rarely at the 10 o'clock Mass, although an opportunity to take communion is always offered at that time also. Communion consists in accepting from the hand of the *padre* a wafer which, after being consecrated, is thought to become the actual body of Jesus, and whose acceptance on the part of the worshiper "puts him in a state of grace," in which "there is neither sin nor a sense of sin."

The wafer is received as the individual kneels before the communion rail at the front of the church. If the worshiper is a woman, the head is covered by a veil, white for virgins, black for married women. If a woman does not own a veil

or for any reason fails to have one with her at Mass, she may borrow from a friend. If an unmarried girl loses her virginity, she is expected henceforth to use a black veil.

Confession ordinarily is heard by the *padre* after the Saturday night *veza*. It may also be heard immediately preceding the ceremony on Sunday. The expected behavior from the point of view of the church, as stated by the *padre*, is to take communion "as frequently as possible," but in any case "at least once a year." This expectation extends to all persons in the community who have reached "the age of reason," which is considered to be about 7 years, and who have been trained in the catechism.

The number of persons confessing and receiving communion at the village church, in any given week, however, is relatively small, considering that there are more than 2,000 persons in the *distrito* for whom the only regular opportunity is that afforded in the village. At the 7:30 Mass on February 22, 1948, for example, only 12 persons took communion. Of these, three were women and four were adolescent girls; three were men and two were adolescent boys. Three of these had made their confession immediately before the morning Mass and the other nine after the *veza* on the preceding evening. At the 7:30 Mass, on December 5 of the same year, 21 persons took communion: 3 men, 8 women, 5 boys, and 5 girls. On the succeeding Sunday, one woman and one man took communion. At the special midnight Mass on Christmas Eve, 42 persons took communion, including 20 women, 5 men, 13 girls, and 4 boys. On the following day, which was Sunday, 8 women and a boy took communion; and on the subsequent January 9, 2 women and 3 girls.

The attitudes with reference to confession and communion vary considerably. "I take communion every 2 weeks, regularly," said a young woman. "One should never fail to do that." "Confession relieves you of sin," said a villager, 36 years old, "and the taking of communion afterwards, strengthens your spirit." "I think we should be careful to confess and to take communion," said a 15-year-old girl. "I do so, regularly, once or twice every month."

On the other hand, another villager remarked, "I've never confessed nor do I want to confess. The *padre* can't forgive you anything." "In con-



fession, you have to recall the past," said a farmer, 46 years old, "the good things you've done and the bad things. But I never tell anyone what I've done, not a single soul." "This business of confessing is not for me," said another villager, 62 years old. "Why should I be telling things to another man?" "I'm a Catholic but I don't go to confession," remarked a 23-year-old farm woman. "That is nonsense (*bobage*)."<sup>26</sup> "I've confessed only twice in my life," said another woman, 32 years old, "when I took my first communion and when I was married. My oldest son (15 years old) has confessed once: when he took his first communion. He was 13 then. Neither my daughter (12 years old) nor my younger son (10 years old) have taken communion yet." "The only time in my life I've confessed," said another farm woman, "was when I got married. That was 7 years ago." "Whenever I can," said an elderly woman who lives near the river several miles from the village, "I go to Mass. But to confess—that's another thing. You should confess your sins only to the Father in Heaven; isn't that so?"

#### RELIGIOUS FESTAS

The principal *festas* of a religious character which are held annually in the village are those of Semana Santa (Holy Week), Nossa Senhora da Piedade, Santa Cruz, São Benedito, São José, Santo Antonio, São Pedro, and São João. Two important *festas* are also held each year in the nearby countryside: one at the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, the *santa* thought to be especially efficacious in bringing rain;<sup>27</sup> and the other at the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida near the river to the north of the village. In addition, local inhabitants participate each year in two *festas* outside the community: that of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora which draws celebrants to the town of Pirapora from all over the region; as well as the *festa* of São Roque which is held in the town of São Roque.

The principal function of the *festa* is to renew periodically the common life of the community. A considerable portion of the population attends. The process of communication is intensified. Local inhabitants meet relatives, friends, and other acquaintances, some of whom may live so far away

from each other, in terms of the means of transport, that they are able to meet only occasionally during the year. At *festas*, they exchange conversation regarding their common interests and common problems, their hopes, fears, plans, successes, and disappointments. Each person thus comes to share more fully in the experiences of all the others. By participating in the common acts of the *rezas*, Masses, and processions, the auctions of *prendas*, the raising of *mastros* (see below), the setting off of fireworks and, on the occasion of certain *festas*, the dancing, the playing of games of chance, and the drinking together, common attitudes and sentiments are reenforced, the sense of belonging together strengthened, and solidarity increased.

A not insignificant function of the *festa* is also to bring together young men and women of marriageable age and thus to foster the process of choosing and obtaining a mate. This function is reflected in the following remarks of a young man, 19 years old, after attending the last *festa* for Nossa Senhora da Piedade:

Yesterday, *diverti muito, namorei bastante* (I had a great time with the girls). I bought them pastries and other things. I walked with them a lot. I was having so much fun that I forgot to go home when it was time to do the chores. There were so many pretty girls at the *festa* that I could have kept on talking to them for hours.

For each *festa*, a group of persons, known as *festeiros*, either are appointed by the *padre* or themselves assume the obligation of helping prepare for and carry out the several activities. Formerly, they were only men; today, however, women often participate. Children sometimes are named, or otherwise accepted as *festeiros*, the parents in such cases being responsible for the discharge of the obligations involved. Each *festeiro* is assisted by relatives and friends, so that, in one way or another, virtually the entire village and a considerable portion of the farming community eventually are mobilized.

Other roles exercised in carrying out a *festa* are those of the bell ringer, who rings the bells in the village church to "announce" the celebration itself to the countryside, to call worshipers to the *reza* or the Mass held as a part of the *festa*, and to "salute" the procession as it sets out and as it returns to the church; the *padre*, who participates especially in the *reza*, Mass, and procession; the *fogueteiro*, who prepares and sets off the fire-

<sup>26</sup> See Santos, p. 151.



works; the auctioneer, who sells the *prendas*; the members of the village band and the singers; and those persons whose tasks are to set up the booth where the auctioneer will work to decorate the *andores* on which the images are to be carried in procession, to arrange flowers and other decorations for the church, and to raise the *mastro*.

Approximately 2 weeks preceding the date set for a *festa*, invitations are given out by the *festeiros*, most often orally but sometimes by way of printed forms arranged in Boa Vista, inviting relatives and friends to participate and to furnish *prendas* to be auctioned off at the *festa* so as to reimburse the *festeiros* for the cost of preparing it.<sup>27</sup>

Among the expense of a *festa* may be 180 to 350 cruzeiros for special Masses and a hundred cruzeiros for each of from 9 to 12 members of the band. The cost of fireworks obviously varies with the amount of fireworks used but ordinarily is around 400 cruzeiros. In addition, gratuities are given for several services, including 10 to 20 cruzeiros to decorate each *andor*, from 30 to 40 cruzeiros for the singers at each *reza* or Mass and (sometimes) procession, 20 to 40 cruzeiros to wash and iron the linen in the church and 20 cruzeiros for cleaning up the building before and after the *festa*.<sup>28</sup>

A ritual which is a part of many *festas* is that of the raising of the *mastro*. The latter is a long pole, sometimes painted in vivid colors, to the upper end of which is attached a *bandeira* (flag) to honor a given *santo* (pl. 16, a). At the last *festa* for São João, for example, a *mastro* 27 feet high was erected. To its upper portion had been attached a wooden frame about 15 inches square in which was a cloth "flag," with the image and name of São João stamped upon it. The *mastro* may be removed a month or so after the *festa* or it may be left until the next celebration for the *santo*, when the *mastro* is taken down and the "flag," now faded and torn by the action of the elements, is replaced. A *mestre do mastro* (master of the *mastro*) is appointed to oversee the ritual.

Occasionally, a *mastro* is erected near a house and kept there permanently. A farmer, for instance, who is named Antonio in honor of Santo

Antonio de Padua, raised a *mastro* in front of his farmhouse several years ago (pl. 17, e). Each year, on June 13, or the "day" of Santo Antonio, a new "flag" is exchanged for the old and, when the pole itself is in need of being replaced, a new *mastro* is set up. No *festa* is held at this time, although a few neighbors may come in to assist. A bonfire is built near the *mastro* and the family and guests take *café* and *quentão*.<sup>29</sup> At this time, the children usually sing verses dedicated to Santo Antonio, and take turns leaping over the bonfire.

On the eve of a *festa*, an air of expectancy and suppressed excitement is to be noted in the community. A larger number of farmers is seen in the village than on other occasions and there are more persons at the evening *reza*. The next day, the village fills with farmers and their families and, if the *festa* be one of the more important *festas*, with persons also from one or more neighboring towns, especially those who once lived in the community or whose relatives still reside there. When the band begins to play in the usually quiet *praça*, faces reflect a high degree of pleasure. Conversation groups form spontaneously here and there. Young men walk together up and down the *praça*, looking over the young women who are walking together in the opposite direction and who often blush at these glances. Everyone is dressed better than on other occasions; a few appear ill at ease in new suits or new dresses. Almost no one is barefoot.

The *festa* of *Semana Santa* lasts a week. It begins on Palm Sunday. Almost everyone to be seen in the village on that day, whether a man, a woman, or a child, is carrying a palm leaf, or a portion of a palm leaf, to be raised during the morning Mass, when mention is made of the way having been strewn with palm branches as Jesus entered Jerusalem. After being blessed by the *padre*, the palm leaves will be taken home and kept throughout the year. Following the morning Mass, many farm families remain in the village. At an advantageous point, an occasional stall has been set up for the purpose of selling food and drink to those who have come a long distance and who may become thirsty or hungry before their return home.

By early afternoon, the streets are nearly filled with villagers and country folk, ready to partici-

<sup>27</sup> Currency is sometimes given in addition to a *prenda*, or in substitution of it.

<sup>28</sup> When a *festa* is given at a chapel outside the village, those who cut the grass and weeds around the chapel are usually furnished bread, *café*, and *pinga* while at work.

<sup>29</sup> See section on *Pinga*, Tobacco, and *Café*, p. 46.



pate in the procession known as the "Procession of the First Meeting." Two lines form in front of the church, one faced toward the *praça* and the other, at right angles, toward the Rua da Penha. One line is composed only of women and the other only of men. Four women are carrying an *andor* with the image of Mary and four men another *andor* with the image of *Senhor dos Passos* (Jesus Carrying the Cross). Each line begins to move, the men led by the *padre* and singing hymns that refer to the life of Jesus, the women singing hymns that refer to the life of Mary. The men pass through the *praça* and the women climb along the Rua da Penha until each group comes out at different points on a winding cross street, formed by the road that comes in from Boa Vista, where they turn toward each other and proceed along this street until they meet. The coming together symbolizes "the meeting of the glances of the Most Holy Mother and her Son," as Jesus was carrying the cross up Calvary.

On the occasion of the *feita* this year, the *padre* then spoke for a few minutes, saying, among other things:

Think of that mother exchanging a last glance with her son, he to whom she had given birth, he who was flesh of her flesh and blood of her blood, and not being allowed to take him into her arms! Jesus was on his way to his death. He was surrounded by soldiers and other persons who were mocking him, and his Most Holy Mother could not even come close enough to touch him. She could only exchange with him a glance! How great must have been the suffering of Our Lady! And all this, my brethren, because of our sins! Our sins which only the tears of the Most Holy Mother and the blood of Jesus can wash away! Let us all kneel down and ask forgiveness of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus Christ! Let us ask pardon for our sins!

Kneeling, the *padre* then made the sign of the cross, as did all the others present. A woman, about 50 years old, began to weep hysterically and turned and left the group, making her way to her home.

The men formed in line to either side of the women and the two images, side by side, were carried back to the church. No one was to be seen in the village who had not taken part in the procession; persons who for any reason could not participate, had remained in their homes. That evening, a large crowd attended the *reza* in the church.

No ceremonies are held either on Monday or Tuesday. The village becomes even more quiet

than usual. No one for any purpose will fire a gun during these days.<sup>270</sup> No one plays a musical instrument or laughs loudly. If a person momentarily forgets and laughs out loud, he immediately will receive from the other persons present, glances of frank disapproval. If he were to continue to laugh, the others would turn their backs upon him. On the following day, the silence seems to increase. The village appears deserted. Rarely does anyone come to the stores. A few persons go to the church to pray quietly. Several men have gone to the river to fish, so that their families will have a substitute for meat.

From 8 o'clock on Thursday morning until the same hour on Friday, several groups, each composed of six persons, chosen by the *padre*, alternate each hour in "keeping watch" at the altar in the room of the village church where the image of Jesus in death is kept. The first 10 hours, or until 6 o'clock in the evening, the watch, or *guarda* as it is called, is kept by women; the last 14 hours, from 6 o'clock in the evening until 8 o'clock the following morning, the watch is kept by men.

A cross, made of white roses and other flowers and adorned with white lace, has been placed over the case in which the image lies. In front is a wooden railing and, beyond it, three plain benches, to accommodate the "watchers." Back of these is a small table, covered with a white cloth on which are two prayer books for the use of the *padre* when he enters the room periodically, during the time the "watch" is kept. The members of each group take turns kneeling in front of the railing, two persons at a time, for approximately 5 minutes, each holding a candle. The other four or five persons in the group either kneel in prayer at the benches or remain standing. That evening, the church is always filled with people praying, while a chorus, usually composed of two or three young women, sings funeral hymns.

On the evening of the following day, or Good Friday, the "Procession of the Burial" is held. "You should see the people who come in for this procession," remarked a villager. "All the farms around are emptied for it." This year, on the night in question, the sky was clear and the moon shone. The village streets filled with people to an extent seen at no other time during the year.

<sup>270</sup> Neither does anyone "spill the blood" of an animal for food.



A truck brought several families from São José dos Patos. The church was packed with persons praying.

At 9 o'clock, the procession began to form. Two long lines of women stretched up the village street. After them, the band took up its position, followed by the *padre*, a girl representing Veronica, and the two assistants of the *padre*. The image of Jesus lying in death came next, carried by six men. Over it was a canopy, held up by several other men. Behind the image, a large number of men gathered.

Just as the procession was about to set out, the girl representing Veronica climbed up on a chair and sang a verse from a funeral hymn. As she sang, she unrolled a scroll on which was printed an image of the head of Jesus, and showed it to the assembled people. When she had ended the verse, a chorus of women's voices repeated it, while the girl again unrolled the scroll and showed the head of Jesus to the crowd. Then she stepped down from the chair, the band began to play a funeral march and the procession set out. It wound its way slowly through all the streets of the village before returning to the church. Seven times the marchers stopped, "to symbolize the seven times that Jesus fell with the cross as he went up Calvary and also the seven weeks of Lent of which Holy Week is the last." Each time the procession stopped, the girl representing Veronica sang. Between 1,000 and 1,100 persons were present. Attitudes of reverence and respect were reflected in every face, without exception. Whenever the girl sang, the silence was so great that she could be heard all over the village.

At the door of the church, the girl sang for the seventh time, after which the *padre* delivered a sermon in which he spoke of Jesus' burial. Once, during his remarks, he pointed directly at the image of Jesus in death and said, dramatically, "It was we who killed Him with our sins." After the sermon, the procession entered the church and a *reza* was held, while the people formed in line and filed past the image of Jesus in death.

At 8 o'clock the following morning, a "Mass of *Alcuid*" was celebrated and at 10 o'clock the church bells, which had not rung since Sunday broke their long silence in "joyous" peals. That afternoon, an accordion was heard in the *praça* and, a little later, a *chorinho* formed, consisting

of nine young men with an accordion, a *violão*, and several *cavaquinhos* and tamborines. The young men began to play in front of one of the stores. At 9 o'clock that night, a dance was held at a village home. A large number of persons was present and the dancing continued until long after midnight.

At 5 o'clock the following morning, which was that of Easter Sunday, the village was awakened by the ringing of the church bells to call worshipers to the *reza* which would precede the "Procession of the Second Meeting." It was not long before 200 persons had gathered at the church and more were arriving continually. At six o'clock, with the bells again ringing and the village band playing a lively march, the procession set out. The participants had taken up their positions as on the previous Sunday: the women in one line, facing toward the Rua da Penha; the men in another line, at right angles, facing toward the *praça*. At the head of the men was the *padre*. Four of the men were carrying an image of Jesus; four of the women, an image of Mary. As they set out, the men sang hymns referring to Jesus; the women hymns referring to Mary. The two lines followed the same route as previously, the men moving through the *praça* and the women up the Rua de Penha, and again meeting midway on their respective journeys around the village. The *padre* then spoke briefly regarding the meeting of Mary and Jesus after the Resurrection, the people listening with a show of great reverence and respect. After the *padre* had finished speaking, the column of men joined that of the women and the images were brought back, side by side, to the church. At 10 o'clock, a Mass was held, following which the church remained filled for a long time with persons praying.

The *feita de Nossa Senhora da Piedade*, given for the patron *santa* of the village, is held annually on, or near, September 28. It is preceded by a novena, consisting of nine *rezas*, held on consecutive evenings. This year, on the evening preceding the *feita*, rockets were set off and the village band, which had practiced every evening during the preceding week, played several marches. A dance, held at the home of a villager, added to the festivities. About a hundred persons were present and dancing continued until long past midnight.



Shortly after daybreak the following morning, the church bells began to ring. When they had ceased ringing, the band played a march in front of one of the village stores, after which the church bells were again rung for several minutes. The band then played three more marches, one at each of the three other principal points in the village, thus completing what is called the *alvorada*, or morning music. During the intervals when the band was moving from one point to the other, rockets were set off. Following the playing of the final march, several *morteiros*, or large firecrackers, were exploded.

By 10 o'clock the village had filled with farm families coming in on foot and horseback. At the corner of a village street, a man was selling cane juice. A village woman had made pastries for sale at the bakery. In the *praga*, a man from Boa Vista had set up a small stand where he was selling various trinkets and, later, held a raffle at which several small prizes were offered.

The regular 10 o'clock Mass was immediately preceded and succeeded by the ringing of the church bells, the setting off of rockets and the playing of the band. In the afternoon, an auction of *prendas* was held, with Bicáva again officiating.<sup>21</sup> Among the articles auctioned were an armadillo, chickens, eggs, sugarcane, pastries, fish, water glasses, bibelots, bottled drinks, and packs of cigarettes. Later, a procession formed, whose subsequent setting out was announced by the firing off of rockets, the ringing of the church bells, and the playing of the band. Behind the several *andores*, including that of *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* in a prominent position, the *padre*, walking under a red canopy, with a yellow fringe, held by six men, carried the Host. As the Host passed, nearly everyone who was not in the procession knelt. Behind the *padre* came the band, its music alternating with hymns sung by members of the procession. After the group had returned to the church, a *reza* was held. Four acolytes assisted the *padre*. Six men stood on the steps leading up to the main altar, each holding a staff about 5 feet long, on the end of which was a candle, enclosed in a square glass frame. At the moment when the Host was elevated, the six candles were lighted, rockets were set off outside and a clarinet from the band, sta-

tioned near the door, was played and a drum beaten.

The *feita de São Benedito* is held annually on, or near, April 27. This year, approximately 40 *festeiros* divided the responsibility of preparing and carrying it out. On the evening preceding the *feita*, a *mastro* was raised in honor of the *santo*. The village band played and, as the *mastro* was being raised into position, rockets were shot off. A *reza* was then held in the village church, after which the band again played.

The next morning, which was Sunday, a Mass, especially dedicated to São Benedito, was celebrated. It was "announced" by the customary ringing of the church bells, followed by the playing of the band and the firing off of rockets. The church was crowded to overflowing. Many persons stood in groups outside. Two trucks, loaded with visitors, arrived from São José dos Patos and another from Boa Vista. In the afternoon, an auction of *prendas* was held, "announced" by the firing off of one large and two small *baterias* of firecrackers. To the usual means of carrying on the auction, there was added a *tombola*, a game of chance in which women and girls sold, for half a cruzeiro each, pieces of paper on which numbers were marked, after which a crudely made roulette wheel was spun to determine who won the *prenda* in question. Following the auction, a procession formed and passed slowly through the streets of the village. Approximately 800 persons participated. Numerous banners and standards were carried, in addition to the *andor* with the image of São Benedito, supported by women and girls.

Almost the entire month of June is taken up with preparations for, and the actual carrying out of, the *festas* for three *santos populares* (popular saints), as they are called: Santo Antonio, *casamenteiro* (matchmaker), São João Batista, *padroeiro dos batizados* (patron saint of the baptized), and São Pedro, *porteiro do céu* (gatekeeper of heaven). So much is this so that when the month of June is mentioned, it is associated immediately in the minds of local residents with these three *santos*. Together with the month of May, which is dedicated to Mary, June is of special significance in the life of the community.

The *feita de Santo Antonio* is held each year on the evening preceding June 13; that of São

<sup>21</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 58.



João on the evening preceding June 24, and that of São Pedro on the evening preceding June 29. The preparations for the first of these *festas* begin almost with the first day of the month and hardly has it terminated when preparations are under way for the next. June is a period of lessened agricultural activity. Most of the harvest, especially of maize and beans, terminates in late May or early June. The time until the planting, in July and August, for the *seca* (dry season) is perhaps more free for the farmer than any other period of the year.

Although each of these three *festas* is dedicated to a *santo*, its character is more secular than religious. The *padre* is not present. A *reza* may be held on the eve of the *festa*, but this is the only direct connection with either church or chapel. Some family in the community sponsors the *festa* and offers its home for the event. In the case of the *festa* of São João, the family is the same every year; in each of the other two cases, it varies.

The *festa* of São João is sponsored by Nhá Benta, a widow who lives in the village. This year, wires were strung from either side of her house across the street to either side of a neighbor's house, and pennants, made of white, green, and yellow tissue paper, were hung from them. The ground immediately below was well swept. To one side of the house, wood was piled for "the bonfire of São João."

Following a *reza* in the church, village and farm families gathered at the house for the raising of a *mastro* with the "flag" of São João, an auction of *prendas* to help with expenses, and a dance "to pass the time" until the hour of the principal event, at 3:30 in the morning, when a procession would form to carry the *santo* to the creek "to bless the water." Meanwhile, the bonfire had been lighted. At each of two small tables, set up under the pennants waving in the breeze, *quentão* was being sold.

Shortly after the appointed hour of 3:30 in the morning, an *andor*, decorated with rose-colored crepe paper, was carried out of the house by four girls. On it rested the image of São João, about 8 inches high, which is kept in the *oratório* in the widow's house. Behind the *andor*, a number of girls and a few women, each carrying a lighted candle, formed two lines. The men and boys followed, in a group. The *padre* was not present.

Proceeding slowly, the group made its way to the creek that flows at the edge of the village. The formation was then broken up and a large number of persons went down to the edge of the water to see if their faces were reflected in it. Although the idea that if one fails to see his image in the water, he may expect death before the next *festa* of São João, a year later, is not as widely held as formerly, it is still common. Many of the participants, of both sexes and varying ages, washed their faces in the creek since, it is thought, one must not wash on this day *after* the ceremony, or evil will befall him. A few persons also washed their feet.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, an elderly man took the image from the *andor* and, going down to the creek, twice made the sign of the cross over the water with the hand which held the image.

After the image had been returned to the *andor*, the procession re-formed, each group of persons being in the same position as before, and set out slowly on the return to the widow's house. Two men, each with a *violão*, then appeared in front of the procession. The marchers stopped. The two men, facing the *andor*, sang an improvised verse to the accompaniment of their musical instruments, after which an elderly woman and a girl stepped in near them and the four danced forward to the *andor* and then backward to their original positions, while they sang a chorus to the accompaniment of the *violões*. The procession then went on a few feet before again halting while the procedure was repeated with a different verse. From time to time, three other men "replied" to the verses given out by the players, with other verses composed spontaneously. This alternate advance and pause, while the players and their companions sang and danced, continued until the procession had reached the house from which it had set out. The performance is referred to locally as "the *caruru* of São João."

The verses which were sung recounted events from the life of São João or referred to the virtues of the *santo* and promises made to him. Two of the verses, and the chorus, were:

Ao meu João Batista  
Eu canto com confiança  
Se ele protege os home  
Não se esqueça das criança

<sup>22</sup> It is also thought that anyone whose candle goes out during the procession "will have a short life."



(To my John the Baptist,  
I sing with confidence;  
If he protects the men,  
May he not forget the children.)

Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Ao meu São João Batista  
Eu venho cantá de novo  
Ele é santo protetor  
Que proteja nosso povo.

(To my St. John the Baptist,  
I come to sing again.  
He is a protector-saint.  
May he protect us.)

Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João

After returning to the house, the procession, accompanied by the players and singers, passed three times around the *mastro*, while verses were sung, each alluding to the fact that the group was "passing around the *mastro* of São João," following which, the image was carried into the house, taken from the *andor* and returned to the household *oratório*. The players and singers then danced three times around the room while singing:

O meu querido São João  
No rio fomo levá  
Agora imo vortano  
Ele vai direito pro artã.

(My beloved St. John  
We took him to the creek;  
And now we've brought him back  
To be put on the altar.)

Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João  
Olerê, Olerê, São João

A *cafézinho* was then served to those who had taken prominent parts in the activities. The *feita* terminated at about 5 o'clock in the morning. Between 350 and 400 persons had participated.

The *feita* of São José is held on, or near, March 19. This year, at the regular *reza* on the preceding (Saturday) night, rockets were set off to "announce" the *feita* to the countryside. During the sermon at the 10 o'clock Mass on the following morning, the *padre* extolled the life of São José. Among other things he said, "To enjoy the immense happiness of being the husband of the Virgin Mary, God chose a holy man, one who would be able to protect well his wife and

her Divine Child. The kings of the earth arrange the best possible educators for their children so that they may become the great men of the future. God, who is more privileged than the kings of the earth, chose São José to educate His son in earthly things. São José was a man of great worth. He is a *santo* for whom all of us should have great devotion. He especially is the protector of the dying. But we should also invoke his name at every other moment of our lives, for he is always near God in Heaven and has great power and influence there." In the afternoon, the *prendas*, including chickens, cups, saucers, drinking glasses, clay statuettes, *guaraná*, and a bottle of cheap perfume, were auctioned and a procession held. Between 500 and 600 persons were present at the *feita*.

The *feita* of Nossa Senhora da Conceição is held annually on December 8 at the chapel about 5 miles to the south of the village. This year, the village band, shortly after daybreak, took up a position in front of the chapel and played the *alvorada*. Soon a crowd began to gather to await the arrival of the image which, 2 weeks before, as a part of the ceremony "to ask rain,"<sup>273</sup> had been carried in procession to the village. Meanwhile, a procession had formed in the village to bring the image back to the chapel. Shortly after the procession arrived and the image had been restored to its accustomed altar, the usual auction was held. From time to time, the band played a few minutes while the auctioneer rested. Pennants, made of white and yellow tissue paper, hung from wires stretched between the chapel and the booth in which the auction was being held. A village storekeeper and two other men each had set up a counter where he was selling *guaraná*, *pinga*, beer, *rapadura*, and pastries. About 400 persons were in the vicinity of the chapel. The day was extremely warm. The sun blazed in a clear sky.

When the auction had terminated, around mid-afternoon, a procession formed. Four young girls carried the *andor* with the image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição. They were preceded by two parallel lines of children in the midst of whom four men, wearing the red mantles and the red ribbons of their order, carried, on another *andor*, the image of Jesus, brought for the occasion in a truck from the village church. In front of the children

<sup>273</sup> See Santos, p. 151.



was the village band. Immediately behind the image of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, came the *padre*, followed by two parallel lines of older girls and women. The other men walked behind, in a group. Descending the hill on which the chapel is located, the members of the procession took a road which passes partially around the hill and, after traversing some 600 yards, returned to the chapel from the other side. Meanwhile, rockets were set off and *baterias* of firecrackers were exploded by John-the-Letter-Carrier. After the image had again been returned to the altar, the *padre* spoke to the assembled people, exhorting them "to love Our Lady as much as, or more than, Jesus Christ, for she is His mother and He loved her dearly and His respect for her was very great." The crowd then dispersed, with the exception of three men who were unable to walk by reason of the *pinga* and beer which they had consumed and who lay in different parts of the grounds. Among the topics of conversation which were heard being discussed as the men left the chapel were the onion crop, the extreme heat, the way "some men drink too much" and the "fights that used to occur" at this *feira*, "for this neighborhood, which is now a peaceful one," remarked a farmer, "once was famous for its fighting."

The *feira* of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida is held on September 8 at the chapel near the river to the north of the village. This year, stalls were erected near the chapel, at which games of chance were played and *pinga*, *quentão*, *café*, cane juice and other drinks offered for sale, as well as food, including fish, pork, beans, rice, bread, pastries, oranges, and peanuts. After an auction of *prendas*, the image of Nossa Senhora da Aparecida was carried in procession. Approximately 500 persons were present.

On the preceding day, a *feira* in honor of São Benedito had been celebrated, at the same chapel. An auction and a procession were held and the village band played during the day. That night, a bonfire was lighted and a *samba* held in front of the church. The latter is a favorite folk dance occasionally seen in the community. Two drums of different sizes beat out the *samba* rhythm while the people present formed in a circle and danced forward and backward to the music. As they danced, sentences improvised by the leader, as well as by others, were sung.

Once a year, many local residents travel out of the community to the *feira* of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora,<sup>27a</sup> which is famous all over the region (Vieira da Cunha, 1937). It is held on August 5, 6, and 7. This year, on the final day, approximately 20,000 people visited the small town sometime during the day, and probably 2,000 persons participated in the procession held that afternoon. About half of the persons present were blacks or dark mulattoes. The sexes were rather equally represented. Perhaps only 10 percent of those present were under 12 years of age. Many persons came on foot or horseback; others came by truck, automobile, or bus. At midday, 56 trucks, 263 automobiles, and 13 busses were parked in the town. License plates indicated that these vehicles had come from the towns of Parnaíba, São Roque, Barueri, Itú, Pinhal, Piracicaba, Botucatu, Campinas, Itapeverica da Serra, Guarulhos and the city of São Paulo. The church was filled throughout the day. Hundreds of persons pushed their way into the church to pray, to light a candle or to form in line to pass by the main altar and kiss the feet of the image of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, or the hem of the garment, and deposit an offering in the coffer nearby. A few persons left at the altar gifts of unlighted candles, some of which were as much as 4½ feet high. A few persons came into the church carrying a piece of ribbon, or cord, with which to take the measurement of some part of the image so that, upon returning home, the ribbon (or cord) might be placed about the affected part of the body of someone in the family, as a means of applying sympathetic magic for healing purposes. To facilitate the taking of these measurements, pieces of wood, each with a cross-piece marked "head," "chest," or "waist," had been provided.

Many persons subsequently visited the *Casa dos Milagres* (House of Miracles) across the street. The walls are covered with photographs of persons, or of parts of their bodies, which are thought to have been cured by the miraculous power of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. In the center of the room are racks supporting approximately 400 crutches and canes, discarded by persons who had once used them. Several crosses, including an especially heavy one which a man, in fulfillment

<sup>27a</sup> It is customary in the community under study to add "São" (Saint) to Bom Jesus.



of a vow," had carried or dragged some 200 miles from southern Minas Gerais, occupy one end of the room. Many persons also washed their arms and legs in the river that flows through the town; or held children briefly in its waters, either in fulfillment of a vow or as a protection against possible harm in the future. A few persons carried away pieces of stone from the riverside to use as talismans.

In the afternoon, a procession set out from the church. Five images were carried. The first was that of São Benedito and the second that of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. A group of pilgrims carried a red banner, upon which had been embroidered an image of the *santo* being honored and the inscription, *Romeiros do Bom Jesus de Pirapora*. Under a canopy walked three priests, one of whom carried the Host. A band accompanied the procession and played as the group moved through the streets of the town and eventually made its way back to the church. At the door each *andor* was turned so that the image, as it entered, faced the crowd outside. Subsequently, inside the church, a large number of persons pressed tightly around the *andor* on which had been carried the image of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora, so as to try to secure a piece of ribbon, flower, or other object from it. A *soldado* stood nearby and helped distribute portions of these objects.

About the door were many beggars asking alms. At the sides and back of the church, approximately 40 booths had been erected, at each of which drinks or food were sold, as well as images and lithographs of the various *santos*; candles, cloth, clothing, kitchen utensils, perfume, and similar items. Several men displayed, in small suitcases, other articles for sale. One of the men used sleight-of-hand performances and another had two large snakes wrapped around his body, to attract the attention of persons in the crowd. Numerous games of chance had also been set up. The dancing of the *samba*, once a picturesque part of this annual ceremony, has now disappeared, suppressed by the police at the request of the ecclesiastical authorities. A group of persons, some of whom were playing tamborines and a *cavaquinho*, singing popular songs, and dancing, in a *botequim*,

was broken up by police officers who confiscated the musical instruments.

Inhabitants of the community under study lament the changes that have come in this *feira*. "Some years ago," remarked a farmer, "there were no trucks or automobiles at the *feira* in Pirapora. Everyone went on horseback or on foot. They'd leave home a week or two before the *feira* was to begin. They'd take along enough food for the journey; or, if they were poor, they'd ask alms along the way. People like that made the *feira* worth while. The processions in those days were beautiful things. There also were *sambas* and everyone had a good time." Many local residents are coming to prefer the *feira* at São Roque. "About 7 or 8 years ago," said a villager, "the *feira* of São Roque began to get better. Now it's wonderful! All of us go. It's a beautiful thing! It's much better than the *feira* at Pirapora. That one has fallen off a lot. There got to be too many thieves and too many fights. Someone even got killed every once in a while."

By the "*feira* of São Roque" local residents refer to three consecutive celebrations held on August 15, 16, and 17 of each year. The first day is given over to honoring the Divino Espírito Santo and commemorating the assumption of Mary; the second, to honoring São Roque, the patron saint of the town. On the third day, a celebration is held in honor of São Cristóvão. A week before the *feira*, or on August 7, a *reza* is held and, on the following day, a *desfile dos carros de lenha*, in which oxen and oxcarts, led by a band, parade through the principal streets, after which the animals are blessed.

This year, on the evening of August 15, a *mastro* was erected, to the accompaniment of a band and the firing off of rockets, in honor of the Divino Espírito Santo. It was about 25 feet high. It had been painted green and had a "flag" upon which the figure of a dove was stamped. At 6 o'clock on the following morning, a "salute" of 21 rockets was fired, after which a band paraded through the streets of the town. At 10 o'clock, a Mass was celebrated at the principal church. About 400 pilgrims from São Paulo attended, led by the *Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Homens Pretos de São Paulo* (Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of the Blacks of São Paulo), founded in 1711. Following the Mass,

<sup>20</sup> See *Promessa*, p. 173.

<sup>21</sup> Pilgrims.



about 35 members of this brotherhood, each wearing a blue mantle, formed into two lines in front of the church and, behind them, approximately the same number of members of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament of São Roque, each wearing a red mantle, also formed into two lines, next came three girls, each dressed in white and wearing white gloves, one of whom carried a banner on which was embroidered the image of a dove. Behind the three girls, were four other girls, supporting, in horizontal position, four white poles, each about 10 feet long, so as to form a square. Within the square was an "Emperor," with a scepter in his right hand, and an "Empress" carrying a large silver crown on a silver tray. Behind them came a band, in uniform, and the other worshipers.

The group marched to the home of the "Emperor," near the church, where the *rosas*,<sup>22</sup> which were lying on a red cloth upon an improvised altar, were blessed by the priest and distributed by the "Empress" to all persons present. On the wall behind the altar was another red cloth, with the image of a white dove embroidered upon it.

In the afternoon, a procession began to form in the *praça* in front of the principal church. A group of persons came into the *praça* carrying *andores* with images from another church so that, by the time the procession set out, there were 23 images being carried. The *andores* had all been decorated with artificial flowers and paper streamers, the colors varying with the image. Each was carried only by women and girls or only by men and boys. The women and girls were dressed in the same color as that of the *andor* which they carried. All of them wore gloves. The men and boys, with few exceptions, were dressed in suits of navy blue. The "Emperor" and the "Empress" occupied a prominent position. After the procession, accompanied by a band, had passed through several streets of the town, it returned to the main church, where the images that had been brought from the other sanctuary were carried once around the *praça* and then taken back to the church in which they are usually kept. The other images remained in the *praça* while a priest, standing in the door of

the church and speaking into a microphone, preached a short sermon, after which they were returned to their altars. The members of the two brotherhoods then escorted the "Emperor" and "Empress" to the home of the new "Emperor" and "Empress," chosen for the next year's ceremony. That morning, following the Mass, the man and wife in question had been selected by lot. When the group reached the door of this home, they formed into two lines and the "Emperor" and "Empress" they were escorting passed between the lines into the house, where they handed their scepter and crown over to their successors. The remainder of the afternoon was given over to the secular portion of the *feira* (see below). In the evening, a fireworks display lasted approximately a half hour.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of the following day, another salute of 21 rockets was set off, and the band again paraded through the streets, playing lively airs. At 10 o'clock, a Mass was held and, an hour later, a *Bando Precatório*, composed of four girls, each holding a corner of a large sheet, began to go through the streets of the town, accompanied by the band. Persons in houses along the way threw coins into the sheet. A fifth girl, carrying a tray, received offerings from groups on the sidewalks. In the afternoon, an auction of *prendas*, and a procession in honor of São Roque, were held. After the procession had returned to the church, a *padre* preached a short sermon from the doorway.

On the following day, a Mass was held at 7 o'clock and, in the afternoon, a procession, both in honor of São Cristóvão; the procession was accompanied by "all the trucks and automobiles in the *município* and surrounding area," as the local newspaper later reported, "since São Cristóvão is the *santo* of the drivers of vehicles."

The secular portion of the *feira* included a rodeo; a traveling "carnival"; games of chance, played at stalls set up in the main *praça* and elsewhere in the town; secular music furnished by a band, stationed in the principal *praça*, the two local bands taking turns at playing; music from phonograph records, and an occasional group of songs sung by a local vocalist, amplified by loud speakers set up in the *praça*; and, in the evening, promenades around the square, on the part of young men and women. About 80 booths had

<sup>22</sup>*Roscos* are small, round cakes, each about 6 inches in diameter, without centers. The ritual appears to be a survival of an ancient Portuguese custom to distribute food to the poor on the occasion of the more important feasts, a custom which was subsequently restricted, it is said, by order of Dom Manoel, to the feast of the Divine.



been set up in and near the *praga*, at 28 of which games of chance were played. At the others, food and drinks were sold.

A *feita* for *São Gonçalo* is now rarely held in the local community. Elements of a popular character would seem still to adhere more to this *feita* than to any other. It is always held as the result of a vow,<sup>27</sup> in which a promise has been made to hold a ceremony in honor of the *santo* in return for some favor requested. "Several years ago, Virgílio's wife had a bad sore on her leg," recalled a farm woman. "It was 'eating' up the whole leg. So she made a *promessa* to *São Gonçalo* to hold a dance for him if her leg got well. It did and so she arranged a dance for him at her house."

The *padre* is not present at a *feita* for *São Gonçalo*. The image of this *santo* is usually placed on a roughly constructed altar in the main room of the house. The altar may consist of a wooden box, on which a white cloth has been laid. Usually, there is an arch, made of bamboo or *taquara*, over it. Two men, each with a *violão*, take up a position in front of the image and begin to play and to dance, moving forward and backward, in front of the image, and stooping over to kiss the feet as they come near. A little later, as many as possible of the other persons present, with the exception of the small children, form behind the men, in two parallel lines. The players then sing a verse to the accompaniment of their instruments as they dance forward to the altar, bow to the image, and turn and dance to the rear of the lines. As they continue to play, two other persons, repeating the same verse, also dance forward to the altar, bow to the image, and turn and dance to the rear of the lines, after which a third couple repeats the same movement, while singing the same verse, and so on until the two players come again to the head of the lines. Another verse is then taken up and the dance continues as before. Each dancer is said to be careful to face the image as much as possible and to turn his back upon it only when a step in the dance requires him to do so.

Two other movements are also used, each of which is initiated by the players. The first of these consists in dancing while turning the body slowly in a circle, the meanwhile one maintains his place in line. The other movement consists in dancing for-

ward in unison, the persons in one line turning at the altar to the right, those in the other line to the left, and returning to the rear where they again advance to the altar and turn, this time, in the direction opposite to that taken before. Outside the room, looking on, is usually a large crowd.

The *feita* of the *Santa Cruz* is described below (see *Almas* and the *Santa Cruz*, below). Although no *feita* is held in the community for the *Divino Espírito Santo*, local inhabitants, as has been indicated, sometimes attend that held in connection with the *feita* of *São Roque* in the town of *São Roque*. Occasionally, one or more persons appear in the community who are traveling over the region collecting *esmolos* (offerings) for a *feita do Divino* in their community. Known as *bandeirantes*, because they carry with them a "flag" (*bandeira*), ornamented with ribbons and announcing the purpose of their travels, they are welcomed by local farmers and villagers and given *esmolos* and, as needed, food and shelter.

Connected with every *feita*, then, in which the *padre* has a part, is a Mass and, sometimes, also a *reza*; the ringing of the church bells at specified times preceding and during the *feita*; a procession, in which images are carried; and an auction of *prendas* to cover expenses. In connection with the procession, a sermon may be preached or brief comments made by the *padre*. Rockets and other fireworks are usually set off, a band plays, food and drink are made available for purchase, and games of chance are engaged in. At the more "popular" *festas*, a *mastro* is usually erected, the *samba* or other dances may be danced, verses sung to the accompaniment of one or more *violões*, and *quentão*, a favorite drink, made available. At all *festas*, the older inhabitants of the community meet and converse with friends and relatives, and the younger persons promenade and carry on the process of courtship.

The actual celebration of a given *feita* may be held a few days before, or after, the appointed date, especially if the latter does not coincide with Sunday, a day which is more convenient for the *padre* and also for most local residents. The date may also be altered by reason of adverse weather or other consideration.

#### ALMAS AND THE SANTA CRUZ

The inhabitants of the community participate mentally in two distinct worlds: the practical,

<sup>27</sup> See *Promessas*, p. 172.



everyday world of human affairs; an unseen, mysterious world. Together with other beings, the latter is peopled with *almas* whose special time of moving about is at night. *Almas* are the souls of the dead which, under certain circumstances, it is believed, return to disturb, inconvenience, perhaps harm the living.

As he finished his supper, an elderly man in the village noticed that a water jar in the room was empty and called out to his wife, "Josefa, go fetch some water! The jar is empty." The woman took up the vessel and went out. "The jar must not be left empty," the man explained. "The *armas*<sup>22</sup> that come to visit the house during the night may be thirsty and it is well to leave water for them."

"João, our mail carrier," remarked an elderly woman in the village, "has to get up at 3 o'clock in the morning to go fetch the mail bags from São José dos Patos. One night he awakened startled, thinking he had overslept. He opened the window to look out and see if it was light yet. He saw a man walking along and said, 'Young man, what time is it?' The man came closer and closer and kept getting bigger and bigger. João asked him again what time it was. Then my mother, who lived just across the street and had heard João ask the time, called out, 'It's still early, João; it's only midnight.' As soon as she said 'midnight,' João knew that the man was an *arma*."

The appearance of an *alma* is said to occur any time after death. "When I was a small boy," recalls a village official, "my parents took me and my brother to visit my godparents in a town near here. One night, we were awakened by a noise above the ceiling, as if something was flying around up there. I said to my brother, 'Something's up there!' and covered up my head. 'There is something,' he said. 'I heard it too.' It kept on for some time. The next morning, early, I heard my godfather talking to my godmother about a noise he too had heard, there, above the ceiling. He was saying it must have been João Bispo who had died and had come to tell him about his death. But my godmother hadn't heard it. 'Nonsense!' she said, 'You only dreamed it!' 'No,' he insisted, 'I'm sure it was João Bispo. He came to me and said he wanted to thank me for all I'd done for

him. I'm going to write a letter to the village and see if João hasn't died.' My godfather wrote the letter and some days later came the reply. He called us and told us that João Bispo was dead. He had died at the very hour we had heard the noise there above the ceiling." "Felinho was disorderly," recalls a village official. "He was always causing trouble. After he died, the father-in-law of my father was at the window when a procession passed and he saw Felinho dancing and jumping about in the midst of the procession." "If someone dies and leaves money buried in a place no one knows about," said a farmer, "he will have no rest until it is found. He must come and get someone to dig it up. He can't have peace until he does."

One form the dead take is that of the *almas penadas*. They are thought to wander about, especially in solitary and lonely places, until they have completed punishment for sins committed or something left undone, like fulfilling a vow; or they may be the souls of persons who have died unbaptized and who wander about the world "because they can enter into neither heaven nor hell."

"One night," recalls a farm woman, "when my mother had just gone to bed, she saw a faint light moving in the room. She was afraid and didn't say anything. The next day she told a *comadre* about it and said she thought perhaps her mother wanted to talk to her. The *comadre* said, 'If she comes back again, send her to me. I'll talk to her.' And that was what my mother did. The next day her *comadre* came to tell her that her mother had made a vow to put 400 *reis* in the offering box for the *armas*, but hadn't fulfilled it. My mother paid the 400 *reis* and her mother never appeared again." "It's only the *armas* of the hunters that wander about here," said another farm woman who lives near the river. "Hunters, you know, never go to Mass on Sunday; they like to be out in the woods with their dogs and their guns. At night, you sometimes hear the rattle of their chains, the bay-ing of their dogs, and the sound of the horn as they go by. Especially on 'the Friday of the Passion (Good Friday).'" "There used to be a man who lived near the river," said a farmer, "and took people across in his boat. At any hour of the day or night he would row you over. One night, someone called him. He got up and went down to

<sup>22</sup> As indicated in the section on Language, (p. 115), the *l* sound is often changed to an *r* sound in the *caipira* dialect.



the river. As he came near, he heard the clanking of chains and dogs getting into the boat. He rowed them over. But when he had reached the other side, the *arma* said to him, 'Never more will you row people over this river because you have taken the *arma* of So and So in your boat.' And he never rowed again."

Another form the dead take is that of the *morto seco*, or "dried corpse." The conception seems to vary somewhat among local inhabitants, the *morto seco* being at times confused with the *alma penada*, and sometimes thought of as a separate phenomenon. A middle-aged woman in the village said:

When I was a little girl on the farm, about 7 years old, I first heard of a *morto seco*. He was a man who had died far from home. He was looking for someone with courage enough to carry him on his back and help him fulfill a vow he had made to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora and had never fulfilled: to carry him on his back at night until the cock should crow. After that he could rest. Then the *morto seco* would say, "Tomorrow night I'll come for you again." Imagine having a thing like that come for you!

A farm woman said:

The midwife who lives near here is a resolute person who thinks nothing of going out alone at night. The road she takes from her home passes by a wild, lonely place. One night, as she was walking along, she heard a voice say, "Can you get someone to carry me on his back to Pirapora? I will pay him. I have much money." She thought to herself "God have mercy! I know what that is." She replied that she would see if she could find someone. She looked hard into the brush and then she saw him. He was just bones tied together and the place where the mouth and nose should be, bees had filled with wild honey. And he kept swinging his bony hand in front of his face, the mosquitoes were so bad. Surely he will not be eternally lost. God will yet give him salvation. Some day he will find a person to take him to Pirapora. He must have made a vow to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora and never fulfilled it. One doesn't abuse a *santo* that way.

Revealing a somewhat different conception, a farmer said:

The *morto seco* is a man who has been cursed. Cursed by his father, his mother, his godfather or his godmother. An evil man. You know, they used to bury the dead under the floor of the church at the Freguezia Velha. Once, my great-grandfather dug up a grave there, so they could put another body in its place and he found the man who had been buried for many years to be *seco*, just as he had been buried. He was a *morto seco*. The *morto seco* is so evil that not even the ground will receive him. God deliver me from such as that! What horrible things!

Another farmer said:

They are souls so bad—so terribly evil—that neither God nor the devil wants them. For certain, God has banished them. And they must be terribly evil if not even the devil will have them.

The cross is employed as an especially efficacious means of protection against possible harm from these and other mysterious beings. It is thought to possess magical power to keep all evil, "everything that comes from Satan," away from its vicinity. This conception is reflected in a phrase commonly used in the community (as elsewhere in Brazil), "*fugia dele como o diabo da cruz*" (he ran from it like the devil from the cross).

If a person dies unshriven by the side of the road, a relative, a friend or other sympathetic person will erect a cross near the spot. Several crosses to be seen in the area surrounding the village were originally set up under these circumstances. Crosses are sometimes erected also at crossroads. "Where roads meet is a place of much evil," said a farm woman. "If a cross is not put up there, persons who use those roads may suffer harm." A family living at the end of a path or trail leading off from the road sometimes places a cross by the roadside at that point. This may be done in fulfillment of a vow (see p. 173). A cross is sometimes also set up near the entrance to a house, as "a means of protection against all harm," including the evil eye and the *saci*. A few feet from the door of a farm home, for instance, is a wooden cross about 3 feet high, decorated with artificial flowers and paper streamers. "It is good to protect our home," said the mother. "It keeps the evil eye away and also the *saci*. *Credo!* I'm afraid of that *saci*."

The cross is made of whatever wood is at hand but preferably of cedar. "The first cross," remarked a local carpenter, "was made by São José and he used cedar for it. That's why we like to use cedar too." It may be ornamented with one or more white cloths. Passersby often set lighted candles in front of it or leave flowers nearby.

Several wayside crosses in the community were erected so long ago that no one now living knows the precise circumstances under which they were set up. Reputedly the oldest cross is the Cruz Preta (Black Cross), of dark-colored wood, lo-



cated at the side of a road little used today. Said a farmer:

It is very old, very, very old! They say it was put up when that road was the principal one in these parts; when the *tropeiros* went along it to Santos to fetch stuff on the backs of their burros. I have asked many people if they remember when it was put up, but they always say that ever since they were alive and able to see what was around them, that cross was there.

When passing a wayside cross during the day, a man takes off his hat and a woman or a child makes the sign of the cross. Many persons avoid at all cost passing a wayside cross at night. "If you have to go by after sundown," said a farmer, "it's not good to take off your hat, nor even look. If you do, it will disturb the *arma* at his penance." An exception is made in the case of a *capelão* or other person who comes to pray for the soul of the person who has died at that spot. "This must be done at night," said a *capelão*, "because the *arma* is there only at that time and the *arma* must be present when you offer the prayers." Cases of *assombrações* are often linked, rather understandably, with these crosses, as also are legends like that of the "sow and her seven little pigs."<sup>270a</sup>

As has been indicated,<sup>270</sup> a small chapel may be erected over the cross. Occasionally this may be done at the time the cross is set up, in fulfillment of a vow made to the Santa Cruz (Holy Cross) as in the case of a small chapel at the side of the São José dos Patos road, located about a half mile from the village. A farm woman said:

It was Nhá Quina, the mother of my husband, who had it built there by the wayside. The family was in great need. Their house was falling apart. They had no money. So my husband's mother made a vow to the Santa Cruz. She promised to put up a cross and build a chapel over it if they could get on better in life, especially if they could have a new house. It didn't need to be a very fine house, she said; just one that was not falling apart. Things soon began to get better and one day they built the house where they live now. So she had that chapel built and a cross put up inside it.

A similar but larger chapel was erected some years ago at the edge of the village, near the creek (see map 2). It is located at the end of the "Street of the Pasture,"<sup>270b</sup> its open front facing up the

street, so that anyone entering the street from elsewhere in the village will see the chapel and its cross. The chapel is about 12 feet long, 9 feet wide, and 8 feet high. Its three walls are of brick, covered with *reboque*, calcimined in white. The floor is also of brick. The roof is of tile and there is no ceiling. In front are two low, narrow gates to keep out stray animals. Against the back wall is an altar on which is a large wooden cross. Along each of the side walls is a wooden bench.

One of the principal *festas* in the village, that of the Sagrada Santa Cruz (Sacred Holy Cross), is celebrated here. This year it was held on Saturday, May 24. Early that morning, the church bells were rung by John-the-Bell-Ringer to "announce" the *feira* to the countryside.

For the *feira*, the cross had been wrapped in white crepe paper, and white and red artificial flowers had been placed on the altar. On wires strung overhead from one side wall to the other, pennants, made of white tissue paper, had been hung. In front of the chapel, the street had been carefully swept. To either side, a rude shelter, called a *barraquinha*, had been erected, consisting of a roof of palm fronds, still green, supported on four poles, where *quentão*<sup>271</sup> and pastries were to be sold. Overhead, above the swept space between the two *barraquinhas*, other wires had been strung and pennants, made of colored tissue paper, hung from them. About 60 feet in front of the chapel, a deep round hole had been dug in which to set up the *mastro* in honor of the Santa Cruz. To one side, several feet away, sticks of wood had been piled, ready for a bonfire.

The principal *festeiro*, a villager famed for his skill in cooking, had prepared for the auction to be held in connection with the *feira*, several roasted chickens and a roast goat. About dark, he appeared at the chapel, dressed, in spite of a light rain which was falling and the chilly wind which blew from the south, in a white coat he wears only on special occasions. Hanging a lantern on a nail over the entrance to the chapel, he lighted several thick wicks and stuck each in a can of kerosene which he then placed about the swept area in front of the chapel, to provide light for the *feira* which traditionally lasts all night.

<sup>270a</sup> Abortion is thought to be punished by the return, after death, of the woman in question, in the form of a sow, to wander disconsolate about the earth while her unborn children, in the form of pigs, "torment her." They appear in solitary places, especially at midnight.

<sup>270b</sup> See section on Churches and Chapels, p. 145.

<sup>271</sup> The street is beginning also to be called the *Rua da Santa Cruz* (Street of the Holy Cross).

<sup>272</sup> See Pingu, Tobacco, and Café, p. 40.



Soon the space in front of the chapel began to fill with townspeople and farmers who were arriving singly and in groups. The proprietors of the *barracquinhas* had laid out their wares. By this time, the sky had cleared and the stars were shining.

About 8 o'clock, a huge bonfire was lighted, the heat of which was pleasant, since the night was chilly, and it was soon surrounded by a large crowd. Shortly thereafter, the *rezas* began. Two *capelães*<sup>22</sup> entered the chapel and, kneeling side by side, in front of the cross, began to lead the prayers. The chapel was soon filled with women and girls and the men and boys clustered about the entrance. Most of the women and girls and several of the men and boys repeated the prayers along with the *capelães*, the phrases "Santa Cruz," "Ave Maria," and "Jesus" being occasionally heard in the murmur of voices. A few men outside, however, continued drinking *quentão* and conversing with each other, an occasional loud laugh indicating the theme of conversation was not in keeping with the prayers being said inside.

The *reza* terminated about 9 o'clock. The auctioneer then took up a position in front of a small booth erected for this purpose and began to auction off the *prendas* to pay for the *feita*. About a half hour later, the auction was temporarily suspended while the *mastro* was set up. The principal *festeiro*, assisted by several men, picked up the heavy pole where it was resting behind the chapel and carried it to the appointed place. After attaching to the smaller end of the pole a square wooden frame containing a white "flag" on which a cross cut from dark paper had been pasted, the *mastro* was put into position for raising. While the other men held it ready to be set up, the principal *festeiro* went to get a couple of rockets.<sup>23</sup> When he returned, he gave the order to raise the *mastro* and immediately lighted one of the rockets, which climbed into the air with a hissing noise, followed by a loud "boom," just as the men dropped the *mastro* into place. The space around the pole was then filled in and tamped down tightly, after which another rocket was set off, as someone shouted, "*Viva Santa Cruz!*" and other voices responded with a loud "*Viva!*"

The auctioneer then returned to his task. About midnight, with the auction still continuing, the *samba* began. Three men took a large drum, a smaller drum, and a *chocalho*<sup>24</sup> and made their way to the swept space in front of the chapel, near the newly raised *mastro*, and began to play the *samba* rhythm, agitating the upper portion of their bodies in keeping with the music. Soon Zéca began to sing, in a strident voice:

À meia noite sai o dia  
E bamo vê o Zé Maria  
À meia noite sai o dia  
E bamo vê o Zé Maria

(At midnight, [when] the day begins,  
We'll see Zé Maria;  
At midnight, [when] the day begins,  
We'll see Zé Maria.)

The words were picked up by one spectator after another as he began to dance, until about 15 men were dancing. This verse was repeated, over and over, without alteration, for approximately an hour, when Zéca stopped playing momentarily before beginning another and similar verse. No women at any time participated in the dance.

The auction terminated shortly before 2 o'clock in the morning. The principal *festeiro* then cleared away the objects from the booth where the auction had been held and spread over the counter a black cloth with numbers from 1 to 6. Taking a die from his pocket, he placed it in a glass and began shaking the glass, as he called out, "*Bamo, rapaziada, óia o jogo da canequinha, cum duzentos reis ganha deistão*" (Come on, fellows! Here's a game of *canequinha*! For 200 *reis*, you can win 10 *tostões*<sup>25</sup>). A group of men began to cluster around. After six players had each laid a coin on one of the six numbers, the *festeiro* shook the die in the glass and spilled it out. The number on the die which had fallen upright was the winning number and the winner received five times the amount he had "bet."

By 2 o'clock, all the women and girls had left. Around 50 men still remained. The *samba* and the playing of *canequinha* continued until day-break. Shortly thereafter, most of the village was asleep. The only persons to be seen in the streets were a few farmers who, following the *feita*, had

<sup>22</sup> See Sacred Functionaries, p. 146.

<sup>23</sup> See Making of Fireworks, p. 82.

<sup>24</sup> The *chocalho* is a metal tube, closed at both ends, into which small pebbles or hard seeds have been put.

<sup>25</sup> See footnote 236.



not yet left the village for their homes. All were somewhat under the influence of the *quentão* partaken of during the night. In the principal *botequim*, the leader of the *samba* and several other men were lying on the floor asleep.

The "*dia das armas*" (all Souls Day), on November 2, is also an important day in the village. Early in the morning, families begin to gather in and about the church to participate in the 9 o'clock Mass for the "*armas*." Following the Mass, a procession forms, led by the *padre* and two acolytes, and goes slowly up the hill to the cemetery, as the *padre* repeats, in Latin, prayers for the dead, and those near him reply, from time to time, as he pauses, in the manner in which they have learned the words, "*Miserere, miserere nobis et misericordia tuam*." When the procession reaches the cemetery, all go directly to the small chapel inside, where the *padre* addresses the people. On the last occasion, he told his listeners that, after death, the souls of those who had died without sin would go to heaven, the souls of those who had died in "mortal sin" would go to hell, and the souls of those who had died in "venial sin" would go, temporarily, to purgatory. He emphasized that only the souls of those who had been "completely purified" could ever expect to enter heaven. He then requested all present to kneel and pray six times the Lord's Prayer and six times the Gloria Patri for the benefit of souls in purgatory. "If we pray as we should," he continued, "each soul will have 300 days of indulgence." He said that the prayers might be offered for the soul of any person, a relative or a friend. He exhorted those present to remember that one day they too would die and that their penance in purgatory could be shortened by the prayers of their relatives and friends. Reverently, with solemn faces, the persons present then prayed the 12 prayers. Upon the children's faces were unmistakable evidences of awe.

Following the prayers, the *padre* went from grave to grave *fazendo recomendações especiais* (making special "recommendations") for persons whose relatives or friends had requested special prayers.<sup>288</sup> By 11 o'clock, the ceremony was over and the *padre* had left the cemetery. From then until late that night, however, family groups which had not been able to be present at the cere-

mony climbed the hill to the cemetery, carrying flowers and candles, and went to the graves of members of their family.<sup>287</sup> The flowers were laid on the grave, and the candles stuck in the ground, and lighted. Each person knelt briefly in silence or bent the right knee while making the sign of the cross. The group then went into the cemetery chapel, where each person knelt and prayed a few minutes in silence, after which a candle was lighted for each deceased relative. Approximately 700 persons visited the cemetery during the day.

Until a few years ago, the ritual of the *sete passos* (seven steps) constituted a part of this ceremony. "I remember it well," said an older resident. "The people, in a sort of procession, went to the village church, the chapel at the end of the Street of the Pasture, the chapel in the cemetery, and to roadside chapels until they had 'completed (visited) seven crosses.' Everyone walked along quietly, as still as death. At each cross he prayed fervently. No one looked behind him because, if he did, he might see the *armas* which were accompanying the procession. Ê-ê-ê! How frightened I was of those *rezas* and the *armas*." The ritual was repeated each Wednesday and Friday night during Lent. Recalled a farmer:

On the seven Fridays and seven Wednesdays of Lent every year the men used to get together—the women could have come along too, there was nothing against it, but they never did—and went about making the *recomendações das armas*. They selected six crosses besides the one at the gate of the cemetery. They went out at night. They always carried a *matraca*.<sup>289</sup> Ê-ê-ê! It was an awful thing! It would make everyone nervous. They went along praying the *recomendações das armas*. The prayers were to help the *armas* out—persons who had died at sea or who had died and no one knew about it or who'd had no Mass said for them, nothing. But it wasn't like ordinary praying; it was the Lord's Prayer and the Hall Mary, all right, but everyone drew out the words—Ou-r Fa-a-u-th-th-e-r-r—in such a way that their voices echoed all around. And banging that *matraca*, there at night! It was an awful thing! They went around to the

<sup>287</sup> On the way to the village, some of the families had left a few flowers and perhaps a lighted candle, at each wayside cross they had passed.

<sup>288</sup> The *matraca* is a board about 16 inches long by 10 inches wide, to one of whose sides two shorter pieces of wood are fastened with hinges so as to flap at will. The operator slips his fingers through a slit in the upper part of the instrument and, twisting his wrist back and forth, causes the hinged pieces to flap against the board with a sound like "pa-pa-pa-pa-pa." The *matraca* is used especially during Holy Week, on days when the church bells are not supposed to ring.

<sup>289</sup> The fee is 2 cruzados for each prayer.



seven crosses, always ending up at the cross there by the cemetery, at midnight. As they went along, they couldn't look back or to either side, or even talk with one another; they could only pray and keep looking to the front.

#### PROMESSAS

At a time of personal crisis, especially on the occasion of a severe illness or accident, a *promessa*, or vow, is often made to a given *santo*. It consists in a promise, spoken in prayer, that if the afflicted person is brought safely through the crisis, a specified act will be performed in honor of that *santo*. The promise may be made either by the afflicted person or someone who acts for him. It may be the only means employed to deal with the crisis, or a further precaution in addition to seeking the aid of a "blesser," a *curandeiro* or a physician. "If you don't ask the *santos* to help you," said a farm woman, "going to a *curandeiro* or taking medicine may make you better, but very slowly. It is the *santos* who make the remedies work."

If, after making a vow, a person who is ill or has suffered an accident does not recover, the reason is thought to lie either in a lack of faith or in the fact that it is the "destiny" (*sina*) of the person to die at that time and consequently no intervention can be of avail. "To make a *promessa*," said a young woman, "a person must have faith in the *santos*. If you don't have faith, the vow will do no good." "If your hour has not yet come," a young woman remarked, "and you make a vow with faith, the *santos* will help you; but if it's time for you to die, the *promessa* can do no good."

If the individual obtains that for which he has asked, the subsequent fulfillment of the promise is considered absolutely imperative. Fulfilling the vow is referred to, rather realistically, as "paying" it. There is no specified time in which this must be done, but if the vow is not fulfilled within what is thought, under the circumstances, to be a "reasonable" period, the individual may expect to be subjected to chastisement (*castigo*) on the part of the *santo*. "If you don't 'pay' a vow," said a farmer, the *santo* will punish you. Besides, if you ask him again some other time, he'll not listen to you." If death intervenes before the vow is fulfilled, it is thought, as has been indicated, that punishment will fall upon the soul until, through the aid of some living person, it is able to discharge the obligation. "If a person fails to fulfill a *promessa*

before he dies," said a farm woman, "his soul will not go to heaven. It will have to return to earth and find someone to help it fulfill that vow."

In the community, as throughout the region, the principal *santo* to whom *promessas* are made is São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. Vows are known to have been made also to São Benedito, Santo Antonio, São Roque, São Gonçalo, São José, São Lázaro, Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrat, the Divino Espírito Santo, and the Santa Cruz. In each instance, the vow was occasioned by illness, injury, pain, loss or other adversity. Involved were the following specific promises:

To make, upon recovery, a pilgrimage on foot to Pirapora.

To have a photograph made of the person who is ill or of the injured part of the body and to present the photograph to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora where it subsequently will be kept in the *Casa dos Milagres* (House of Miracles) near the church in Pirapora.

To have a wax image made of the injured part and presented to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora.

To let the hair of an afflicted child grow without cutting until the child reaches a certain age and then offer a photograph of the child to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora (in some cases, the hair, when cut, is presented to the *Casa dos Milagres* or thrown into the river at Pirapora).

To take the clothes which the person uses while ill and throw them in the river at Pirapora.

To carry a large rock on the head in the procession of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora at the annual *feita* in his honor.

To give a dance in honor of the *santo* (only in the case of São Gonçalo).

To beg alms for the *santo* for 9 days.

To name a child in honor of the *santo*.

To have a child baptized at the altar of the *santo*.

To make a child a *festeiro*<sup>20</sup> at a *feita* for the *santo*.

To beg alms to pay for a Mass.

To pray certain prayers.

To give money for prayers for souls in purgatory.

To set up a cross at the spot where a man has died unshriven.

To refrain from eating meat on Friday.<sup>21</sup>

The following accounts of *promessas* given by local inhabitants illustrate the behavior involved and the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments which guide and support it.

<sup>20</sup> See *Religious Festas*, p. 157.

<sup>21</sup> As previously indicated, a man from southern Minas Gerais some years ago carried on his shoulders or dragged along the ground a heavy wooden cross some 200 miles to Pirapora.



## A young mother of two children:

My little girl is called Benedita because my mother-in-law made a *promessa* that if São Benedito would help me give birth to her, we would name her in honor of him. I had been in childbirth for a day and a night. My mother-in-law made the vow at 4 o'clock in the morning and by 8:30, Benedita was born. When my second child came, my husband was so afraid I might suffer like I did when Benedita was born, that he made a vow to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora to take the baby's picture to him if I did not suffer so.

## A farm mother, aged 23:

I once made a vow to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora for my son. He had a sore on his foot that would not heal. He got burnt from his grandmother's pipe. She thought a lot of him. She couldn't see him without wanting to take him in her arms. But she could hardly walk; she had to remain seated nearly all the time. One day, when he was about 10 months old, he was crawling near her. She reached down to pick him up. The bowl of her pipe turned over and the burning tobacco fell on his foot. It wouldn't heal; he was always crawling around in the dirt. I went to Bon Vista to get some medicine for him and on the way I made a vow to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora that if he would let the medicine cure the sore I'd let the boy's hair grow and then I'd have a photograph made of him and take it to the *santo*. The remedy I got was a white salve. It was just like taking the sore out with your hand; in a few days, his foot was well. We let his hair grow until he was 2 years old and then we had a photograph made and took it to Pirapora to the *santo*.

## A young farm woman:

Our family will have to give a dance for São Gonçalo. My mother made a vow that if my father got over being paralyzed, she would hold a dance for the *santo*. He got well. For a long time she intended to fulfill her promise. At first she didn't have enough sugar because of the War, and she couldn't hold a *feita* and not feed everyone well. Later, when the War was over and she had enough sugar, it was difficult to get bread.<sup>20</sup> Then my father died. And before she could fulfill the promise, my mother became ill herself and died. But the *promessa* is still valid and must be fulfilled.

## A farmer, aged 50:

When I was sick, I made a *promessa* to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora that if I got well I would go from the village to Pirapora and back on foot. I must go into the village one of these days and start out to fulfill it.

## A farm woman, aged 38:

I once had a sore on my leg, a very ugly sore. It was eating through the leg. I made a *promessa* to São Gonçalo that if he would heal it, I would hold a dance for him. I got well and a few weeks later we held a dance for São Gonçalo at our house.

## A farm woman, aged 34:

My little boy once caught his forefinger and his little finger in the cogs of our *cangêlo*.<sup>21</sup> His hand swelled up badly. I rubbed hot castor oil onto it, and arnica and salt. I also gave him a little of the arnica to drink. I then made a vow to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora to take a wax hand to him if the hand of my little boy got well. It did. As you can see, the fingers are only a little crooked.

## A young farm woman:

My little girl is sick. I have just made a vow to São Benedito that if she gets well, I will ask a *cruzeiro* of the first person who comes to visit us, tie it in a handkerchief around her neck and take it to the *santo*. When we get to the church, I'll untie the handkerchief and put the money at his feet. When my other little girl was sick some time ago, I made a *promessa* to São Roque to beg alms for a Mass in his honor. The other day I took her to the village and in a little while I had 13 *cruzeiros*. I gave 10 *cruzeiros* to the priest to say a Mass and I sent 3 *cruzeiros* to Senhor São Roque.

## A villager:

Once when I was going to Pirapora there was a man in the bus with a child about 14 years old. It was dressed like a boy, with shirt, necktie, and pants. But it had two large braids tied up on top of its head. So I wasn't sure whether it was a boy or a girl. I kept quiet for a long time. Finally, my curiosity got the better of me and I asked the father if it was a boy or a girl. "It's a boy," he said. "He was born 'strangled' (with the umbilical cord tight about the neck). It was a half hour before we knew whether he would live or not. The midwife was frantic. Before she had time to see whether the child was a boy or a girl, she made a vow to the Divine Espírito Santo that if the child lived, its hair would not be cut until it was 15 years old."

## A farm woman, aged 37:

When we left Minas to come here, I made a vow that if we got here safely, I would have a Mass said after we had been here a year. I also promised that if I didn't have enough money by that time to pay for a Mass, I'd beg *esmolas* (alms) for the amount. When the year was up, we didn't have the money. So, at a *feita* in Paratinga, I begged enough money for a Mass. You must always "pay" a *promessa*, you know; if you don't, it'll be bad for you.

## A farm woman, 60 years old:

Each time my daughter was about to have a child, I made a vow to Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrate (Serrate) that if she would give Nena a good hour when she had the child, I'd take it to her altar to have it baptized. Thank God! Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrate heard me. Both of Nena's babies were baptized at her altar.

<sup>20</sup> See Food and Food Habits, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 55.



## A young mother:

My little girl once was very sick. She was so sick that her legs from the knees down were cold and so swollen that they looked like they would burst. She could keep nothing on her stomach. Then I made a vow to São Benedito that if he would make it worth while to give her medicine, I'd have her be a *festeira* at the *feita* for him and she would walk in the procession, wearing wings like an angel. Soon after we gave her the medicine, she turned to me and said she was hungry, and in two days she was eating like she always did.

## A villager, aged 62:

Not long ago, I had a bad pain in my stomach. It got so bad I couldn't eat. Easter Sunday I made a vow not to eat meat on Friday<sup>22</sup> for a whole year if I could get better. Now I'm much improved.

## A farm woman, 43 years old:

When I lose something, I make a *promessa* to Santo Antonio and in a little while it appears. I make a vow to pray the *Responsório* and then I tell my husband about it, because it would be awful if I was to die without fulfilling the *promessa* and he did not know about it. Besides, he has to help me pray the *Responsório* because I don't know how to read.

## A farm woman, 52 years old:

I have a vow to fulfill, but it is very difficult to do. Two of my children, a son and a daughter, were both sick at the same time. They had the grippe. I worked so hard to take care of them that I too became sick and then there were three of us in bed at the same time. My sister came over to help us. She made a vow that if we all got well, we would have a photograph made and I would take it to Pirapora. We all got well. But before we could get the photograph taken my daughter got sick again and died. Now I suppose the only way to fulfill the vow is to take a picture of myself and my son with another daughter.

## A farmer, aged 48:

My mother made a *promessa* for me when I was about 13 or 14 years old. I didn't know anything about it. I was very sick at the time. She promised that I would go to Pirapora and "exchange" (buy) a *santo*, a São Bom Jesus de Pirapora—it need not be a very big *santo*—and then go from farm to farm here, asking for alms, and take the money and the *santo* and leave them in Pirapora. Although she made the *promessa* for me, I am the one who has to fulfill it. If I don't, she is not to blame. Nothing will happen to her. But I will be punished. If I don't fulfill it before I die, my *alma* will come back to trouble my relatives until the *promessa* is fulfilled. Just the other day my mother was saying to me, "You must fulfill that *promessa*." But for me, that's very difficult.

A few individuals never make *promessas* because they consider them too difficult to fulfill and the risk of not fulfilling them too great. They believe that faith, if sufficient, is an adequate substitute. "When I need something very much," said a mother of four children, "I just ask God with faith. I am not in the habit of making *promessas*. They are so difficult to 'pay.' And you must 'pay'; for if you don't the *santo* will chastise you. Ever afterward, if anything happens, you can't help thinking it's the *santo* punishing you." "I never make a *promessa* for any of my children," remarked another mother. "I ask God with faith and God helps. That which is most valuable is faith."

Vows occasionally are made for animals, as well as human beings. "Will you take a photograph of my dog?" asked a villager. "When he was sick, I made a *promessa* to São Bom Jesus de Pirapora that if he got well, I'd take a photograph of him to the *santo*. He's well and I must fulfill that promise."

## ROMARIAS

Each year, a *romaria*, or group pilgrimage, is made by a number of local inhabitants to the famous shrine of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora (Vieira da Cunha, 1937), in a town some distance away. This pilgrimage appears to be a comparatively recent revival of an old custom which for some years had been abandoned. A villager recalls that "people here used to make this pilgrimage every year but, about 30 years ago, it got so that fewer and fewer people went and finally they stopped going altogether and there was no pilgrimage for a number of years."

For several months in 1939, however, the region in which the village is located was scourged by a severe drought. Several of the more devout inhabitants thought this might be due to the discontinuance of the yearly pilgrimage and a number of persons consequently made a *promessa* that if the much-needed rain fell, the pilgrimage would be resumed and made regularly every year thereafter. "It was a real miracle," recalls a local farmer. "Two days later, we got a good rain. And from that time to this, we have never failed to make the pilgrimage."

The *romaria* ordinarily is made in September. It is customarily made just previous to the *feita* of Nossa Senhora da Piedade, the patron *santa*

<sup>22</sup> A special dispensation some years ago lifted the obligation of meatless Fridays in Catholic homes in Brazil, and in certain other countries, with the exception of the final Friday of Lent.



of the village, which is held annually on, or near, September 28. It was made this year on September 20; last year, on September 15.

On the appointed day this year, families from nearby farms came into the village to join the villagers who were making the pilgrimage so that they might go together. When all had arrived, they set out on the road. The older persons went by truck. The others were on foot or on horseback. There were about 60 people in the group, 35 of whom were women and girls. When the pilgrims finally came to the edge of the town of Pirapora, they paused to form into a procession, with the *padre* at the head, before proceeding on into the town and up to the church of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. Entering the sanctuary, they filed in a single line past the image, pausing to kiss the feet or the hem of the cloak and to drop *esmolos* (alms) into the coffer nearby.

Approximately a third of the group, principally women and girls, then remained in the church for a *reza* and several were confessed by the attending priest. Most of the men and boys, however, left the church to walk about the town, to drink with their friends in the *botequins*, or to form groups of conversation on street corners and at the principal stores where they remained until late into the night.

The following morning, the group attended early Mass and several took communion. Most of the forenoon was spent in and about the church, in prayer or conversation. After lunch, the pilgrims again formed into procession and left as they had entered the previous day. On the outskirts of the town, the procession was disbanded and the pilgrims set out on their homeward way. Upon their arrival at the edge of the village, a procession was again formed, called the "*chegada da romaria*" (arrival of the band of pilgrims) and, led by the priest, the pilgrims proceeded into the church for brief prayers.

The following remarks of young men who participated in the pilgrimage reveal at least some of the attitudes of the local inhabitants who made the journey:

We didn't go to Pirapora to have a good time or even just to take a trip. The pilgrimage is a penance; it's a sacrifice we gladly make.

It's a real sacrifice to go that distance on foot. We went to ask Senhor Bom Jesus de Pirapora to help us

with our difficulties and also to thank him for the benefits we had received during the past year.

A pilgrimage is a devotion. It should be made with faith. Most people walk; and those who go in trucks, ride standing up so as to make the penance greater.

The most difficult part was to go on foot all that distance. But it wasn't so bad. As we came into Pirapora, we all sang together and repeated prayers.

If anybody goes on a pilgrimage just to have a good time, he should stay at home. A pilgrimage is a penance, not an entertainment.

In November of the present year (1948), a pilgrimage was made for the first time to the shrine of the patron saint of Brazil, Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, located in the town of Aparecida do Norte, approximately 180 miles away, near the border of the State. Thirty-two persons made the journey, 15 of whom were men. Travel was in one of the two busses owned by the men in the community who had recently organized the local bus line. The group was away from the village 3 days. "Many of us had made *promessas* to Nossa Senhora da Aparecida," remarked a villager. "We got to talking it over and we all agreed to go together at the same time."

#### EVANGELISTAS

During the period in which the community was under observation, a few members of a Protestant sect, the *Igreja de Deus* (Church of God), began coming each Sunday from São Paulo to hold a public ceremony in a room which they rented in a house in the village. For several Sundays, no local resident joined the two or three visitors from the city. Finally, however, a villager, whose curiosity had been aroused by the hymns he had heard being sung, "went in to see what it was all about." Three men, each around 30 years of age, were standing in front of a few empty benches and singing, without accompaniment. After the hymn, one of the men read, in Portuguese, a passage from the Bible, following which another man spoke for several minutes regarding the necessity of "walking in the straight and narrow way, the way of suffering and pain, that leads to salvation." "The broad highway of pleasure," he continued, "may give the body happiness but it destroys the soul." Subsequently, the three men knelt while one prayed for a considerable length of time, asking the blessing of God "upon the work (of establishing the new sect in the community)." The villager was impressed with the earnestness and



sincerity of the visitors and their apparently profound conviction that they possessed "great truths." Some weeks later, from 6 to 10 persons were coming regularly each Sunday. Among the group was the new *soldado* and his wife who had just arrived in the village and who previously had been members of the same sect.<sup>28</sup>

At approximately the same time, a few other persons began to meet in the home of the tinsmith who, together with his wife and mother, also had recently moved to the village. All had formerly been members of the *Igreja Cristã do Brasil* (Christian Church of Brazil). In addition to the tinsmith and his wife, the group included a farmer and his family and the young wife of the blacksmith. Each Sunday afternoon, a ceremony was held, consisting of the reading of passages from the Bible, prayer, the singing of hymns and an exhortation by one of the group. A few weeks later, about 20 to 25 persons, mostly farmers and their families, were attending regularly, the women each time being approximately twice as numerous as the men.<sup>29</sup> In a farm home, located about 6 miles from the village, another small group of the same sect have been meeting for some time. Approximately an equal distance from the village, in another direction, is a small chapel built a few years ago by the Methodists, in which a religious ceremony is held each Sunday afternoon. The members of all these groups, irrespective of sect, are referred to by other local residents as *Evangelistas* or, literally, "evangelists."

Recently, a baptismal ceremony, sponsored by members of the *Igreja Cristã do Brasil* who live in nearby towns, was held at the edge of the village and this rather dramatic event became for days the principal topic of conversation in the community. On the appointed Sunday, two trucks, filled with people, came into the village from São José dos Patos, and five other trucks brought in visitors by way of the Boa Vista road. Soon a crowd of approximately 250 persons had gathered at the edge of the creek near the village, about a third of whom were curious spectators

from the local community. Several hymns were sung, after which the visitors knelt on the ground, which was wet from a heavy rain the night before, their eyes closed, while an elder prayed a lengthy and fervent prayer for "the salvation and purification of all men." Several persons wept, while others from time to time, with an appearance of deep emotion, called out, "Aleluia! Aleluia!" When the prayer terminated, the visitors rose to their feet and the elder took up a Bible and read a passage from St. Matthew and a few admonitions from the Epistles of St. Paul, after which he began to speak, earnestly, in a voice that became increasingly high-pitched as he went on, and with such rapidity that his breath came only in periodic gasps, between long streams of words:

St. John the Baptist always baptized with water, although he preached that some day there would come One who would baptize with fire. It was St. John who baptized Our Lord Jesus. If Jesus, who was without sin, was baptized, how much more reason is there for us, who are full of sin, to be baptized! A person who has committed a sin may not be in prison but he suffers just the same, by reason of his remorse. If he turns his thoughts to God and is baptized, though, his guilt will all be washed away. The water flows over him and cleanses him. It takes away his sin. The Kingdom of Heaven has been waiting there since the creation of the world. God says, "Come and take your place by my side!" Beloved, the voice of God is calling, "Come, I will receive you all!" God is a Judge before whom it is useless to bear false witness. He is never misled. When you have been baptized, you are ready to appear before God. It brings grace to you. But a person should never be baptized until he has reached the age of understanding. Why should a baby of only 2 or 3 months be baptized? He has not sinned. A baby who is so small that he has to be carried to his baptism will remember nothing about it when he grows up. Baptism has no meaning for him: it was done without his willing it. But we do not carry people to baptism who know nothing about it. We baptize only persons who are old enough to have understanding and to ask for it themselves. When a child is baptized, they put a candle in his hand. Even if he isn't able to hold it, they put it there just the same. Sometimes the candle falls over and burns the child. Almost anything can happen! Beloved, that is not the kind of fire of which St. John the Baptist spoke! He who baptizes with fire is the Holy Ghost! Beloved, it is Our Lord Jesus who calls! Dear ones, our religion will make the whole world right! It takes out the anger that is within you. It takes out the desire for money. Money does not have much worth. It is of greater value to be right with God. One should go to school. But to what school? To the public school? No, my brethren! To the school of the congregation where the brethren come together. There, you will find God who will teach His people. Beloved,

<sup>28</sup> Since this was written, the *soldado* has been transferred elsewhere in the State. The visitors from São Paulo can no longer be present each Sunday and meetings are held only sporadically.

<sup>29</sup> Since this was written, a man has moved to the village to act as a layman leader of the sect. He is called the *encarregado* (the one who is in charge). He earns his living as a day laborer.



all you knew before is useless! It is the teaching of God which enlightens the people. My dear brethren, it is the hour of resolution! Listen to the call of Our Lord Jesus!

Now the brothers will change their clothing in the tent there and the sisters in the tent over here. Afterwards, we will all return and give thanks to the Lord. The water is waiting. Let us save ourselves today, for tomorrow it may be too late! Who knows if he will be alive tomorrow or not? Since the beginning of the world, God has prepared the way and the judgment of men. It is easy to recognize anyone who does not follow God's commandments, for he shows his condemnation in his face. In it are traces of sin and bitterness. But he who is right with God has peace of mind, and his assurance and tranquillity are written all over his face.

Throughout these remarks, the elder was heard with interest and respect. The visitors stood bareheaded in the hot midday sun. From time to time, a person, or several persons together, called out "Aleluia! Aleluia!" in such tones as clearly to indicate that the sentiments voiced by the speaker were identified in a profound way with his own. Subsequently, several adults were baptized by the elder, who was assisted by another member of the sect (pl. 17, h).

As has been indicated, the ceremony evoked widespread interest in the village and surrounding area. Most persons were merely curious. "I and my two sisters," said a young married woman on the following day, "all went to the baptizing. We didn't go because we wanted to become *Evangelistas*. Oh, no! We went because we'd heard that they take people down into the water and we wanted to see what it was like. I suppose we shouldn't have gone because those people don't come to our baptizings; instead, they make light of them." Some persons were amused and spoke jocularly of the event. "I liked it a lot," said a 15-year-old girl. "It was great fun to watch them put people under the water like that." "They tell me," remarked an elderly farmer, who had not been present at the ceremony, "that these people were taken into the creek and doused in the water. With this heat, that isn't such a bad thing." A few persons were sharply critical. "They say when you're baptized like that," a young man remarked, "you are born again. Do you suppose that fellow there (a man 55 years of age, who had just been baptized) has gone into his mother and come out again?" "I think this thing of putting you under the water so your sins will fall to the bottom," said another young man, "is a lot of fool-

ishness." "If I'd been one of those women being put under the water, with pants on and only to the knees!" said a young woman, referring to the use of bloomers by the women being baptized, "I'd have died of shame." "You wouldn't get me to go into the water like that," said a girl, "I wouldn't risk getting mud all over me and maybe swallow a lot of water." Other persons, however, were impressed. "I liked the baptism," said a young woman, 18 years old. "There were so many people I could hardly see. And they were all so reverent and respectful. Those people really have faith."

Into a community where for many generations only Catholic ritual, ceremony, and belief had been known, the comparatively recent coming of these new and strange sects obviously has introduced a measure of conflict. Among local inhabitants, attitudes with reference to the *Evangelistas* vary from opposition to tolerance to a willingness to accept as one's own these new practices and beliefs.

Most persons are opposed. "These people," said a middle-aged villager, "are all insane." "None of them knows how to read," said a farmer. "They don't even know how to talk. And then they want to tell other people how they should behave. That's a funny kind of people." "Did you hear about that awful disaster in Minas?" asked a woman in the village, referring to a flood in a neighboring state, about which she had heard. "Many people died. A whole town was destroyed. That's the punishment of God. It's because of the *Evangelistas*. They abuse religion and God punishes for it." "Their religion may be all right," said a young farmer, "but so far as I am concerned it isn't worth a *testão*."<sup>2</sup>

"Look!" said a young farm woman. "A mother gives you your life, doesn't she? It was she who had all the trouble of raising you. When you grow up, are you evil enough to say, 'That isn't my mother; she's just some old woman?' Everyone born into this world has a mother. Even the animals have mothers. Even trees. But they tell me these *Evangelistas* don't have a mother, nor a father, nor a brother, nor a sister. They say they must 'deny' their mother, their father, their brothers and their sisters' and cling only to God. Besides, they think the Most Holy Mary is not the Mother of Christ; that she's just a woman. And

<sup>2</sup> A tenth part of a cruzado. See footnote 238.



for them there's no *santos*. They believe there's only God." "I'm glad I've always been a Catholic," said a farm woman. "I don't like these people who don't believe in the *santos*."

To alter one's allegiance to Catholic ritual and belief is rather generally condemned. "I was born in the Catholic religion," said a young man in the village, "and I shall die in the Catholic religion. Even if everyone else changes, I will not change." "All religions are good religions," said a rather tolerant farmer, "but *changing* your religion, that just must not be done." "Why should I change my religion?" remarked an elderly farm woman. "My father was a Catholic, my husband is a Catholic, and I was raised a Catholic. Why should I change?" A person who has wavered in his allegiance to Catholic ritual and belief and subsequently returned to it is especially ridiculed. "Simão turned *Evangelista*," a young woman remarked with evident disapproval, "and later he became a Catholic again. They say he became an *Evangelista* so he'd treat his wife better and stop drinking. But he got worse than ever, so he came back to the Catholic religion again."

Any permanent alteration in personal habits which may accompany the conversion of someone to *Evangelista* belief, is especially noted and commented upon. "It seems that these *Evangelistas* never smoke," remarked a villager. "Inácio came to buy tobacco from me for the man who is helping him hoe his maize. But he didn't get any for himself. He said he didn't smoke any more. What a strange fellow he's become." Some persons are much impressed by these changes. "Diogo," said a villager, referring to a young farmer, "began to listen to the *Evangelistas*, and now he's a changed man. He was spending too much time drinking; one day he came home half drunk. He was beginning to think too much about women. He always had a pack of cards in his pocket. But since he's been baptized, he doesn't drink any more, he doesn't gamble, and he doesn't run after women. It did him good to be baptized by the *Evangelistas*."

The belief held by members of one of the new sects to the effect that illness or injury can be cured "only by faith," is also extensively commented upon. "The other day," said a villager, "a woman came to the village with her children.

She had a little girl with an awful-looking place under her eye. She had been cut by a wire. But because they are *Evangelistas*, no one had done anything about it. It healed all right, but the eyelashes of the lower lid were all bunched together. It looked terrible. I asked the mother why something hadn't been done for the little girl and she said, 'We prayed and now it's well.' " "Some turn *Evangelistas*," remarked a young farmer, "because they believe the stupid idea that if you're ill and you change to that religion, you'll soon get well. What nonsense!" Other beliefs of members of this particular sect are considered strange and difficult to understand. "You know," said a farm woman, "an *Evangelista* said to me, 'You must not eat blood sausage or anything like that. It won't do at all. The Scriptures warn us against eating blood.' " "Their religion is funny," said a villager. "It doesn't let them break the neck of a chicken; they have to cut it with a knife and let the blood all run out before they'll eat it. They can't eat wild pig or anything that's killed with a gun, because they say the blood remains cooped up inside."

The rituals of one of the new sects also appear strange to many local residents. "This business of crying when they get together," said an elderly woman in the village, "is difficult to understand. They say they do that to imitate the disciples, that it says in the Gospels that once when they were on their knees, praying and crying together, there suddenly appeared on the head of each of them a great light. They say they cry together so they too will have light for their spirits. I don't understand it." "Quá! that's all put on," said another woman who was present. "Crying that comes from the heart never has any set hour." "Yes," remarked a third woman, "and when one of them dies, they don't cry at all; they sing instead. They say the one who's died is entering into the Glory of God and they want to bring him to God with singing. I once saw a burial of an *Evangelista*. They sang as they carried the coffin; and when they put it in the ground, they also sang. What queer people!"

To these and other critical comments, many *Evangelistas* reply, as did a farm woman, "Let them talk. The light hasn't come to them yet. Some day the Lord will give them grace. We must be patient and wait. I, too, was once like that. When the light comes, they will be illumined."



Several persons in the community who have been identified with Catholic ritual and belief, however, find themselves becoming somewhat undecided; hesitant to forsake the beliefs and practices of their forefathers, but more and more drawn to the new cults. "Several of my neighbors who used to be Catholics," said a farm woman, "have become *Evangelistas*. They keep after me to let them hold their cult in my house. But I'm a Catholic and my parents were Catholics. Sometimes we go to their Sunday School, though, on Sundays. You don't have to become an *Evangelista* to do that. And, besides, they're really good people." Several other persons are not only tolerant of the *Evangelistas* but also quite well disposed toward them. "These *Evangelistas* are very serious people," said a village official. "They are all honest and hard working. That's a good religion they have." "These people never give you any trouble," remarked another village official, upon the occasion of the baptismal ceremony referred to above. "A thousand of them could get together, and there'd be no drinking or fighting; not even a quarrel." "They baptize you only after you're 12 years old," remarked a farm woman. "By that time, you know what it's all about. You can decide for yourself. That's much better." "I've seen that religion straighten up several *gente ruim* ('bad' people)," remarked a villager. "Take that man there who comes around sometimes on a striped horse to sell bananas. I used to know him when he wasn't good for anything. He'd strike his wife, he'd go around drinking *pinga* everywhere he could. He'd come to the *botequim* and spend the day there when he should have been working. Sometimes, when he started back up the hill past my house to go home he'd be so drunk that he'd let his horse run loose and he'd stagger around, shouting, way into the night. The dogs would bark at him. One night I took pity on him. I caught his horse and took off the saddle. Then I talked to him a bit and, when he had quieted down, I put a mat in the *terreiro*<sup>100</sup> for him to lie on. Now he's gone into this new religion and he's straightened up. He doesn't beat his wife any more. He doesn't drink. He's a new man. A religion that does that to you, can't be

a bad religion." "These *Evangelistas* are *gente direita*,"<sup>101</sup> said a farmer. "They are really serious-minded people." "The only defect they have," remarked a village official, expressing a proscription laid down in the local mores, "is that they get to thinking they're better than other people are."

The range of attitudes toward the new sects is further reflected in the following comments made by other persons in the community:

These people are always speaking against our *santos*. They say they are of clay. But we need not be bothered about that, because the *santos* will punish them.

Most people around here don't pay much attention to all this, but there are a few who have become *Evangelistas*. We had a neighbor who changed his religion. He kept coming over to my house and running down my religion, trying to convert me, too. When he talked that way I said I didn't like to discuss things I didn't understand; but he kept right on. I tried to be patient, but one day I turned to him and said, "Gaspar, if you want to come to my house, you may come; but if you can't get along without talking that foolishness, then don't come here any more. You won't get anywhere with that silly talk." After that, he didn't say anything more to me about religion.

The first time they came to the village, the *Evangelistas* aroused everybody's curiosity. That was several years ago. They arranged a room to preach their doctrine. The room was full of people. Some booed, but others liked what they had to say. But when one of the *Evangelistas* began to speak against the Catholics and the *padres*, the wife of Salvador got up and insulted both the man's religion and the man himself. The next Sunday there were not so many people, and after that they kept on dwindling away until there were none left. The first day, the preacher had been happy because so many had come. But when the number got smaller and smaller, he got more and more angry and finally he said that he, too, would put on a skirt so that all the people would come to hear him.

Anyone who is converted to this religion becomes a little queer. He goes around singing. Whenever he stops for a minute, he takes his Bible out of his pocket and begins to read. It's easy to tell an *Evangelista*. If you see a man taking along a Bible when he's going out to work, you may be sure he belongs to that crowd.

Some of those people even stop working just to read the Bible and sing. That will never do!

The only people who turn to that religion are drunkards and those who join it to rid themselves of some other vice.

Any ignoramus, no matter whether he knows anything or not, can be their preacher. They think he doesn't have to study; that the Holy Ghost will tell him what to say. That's a queer kind of people!

<sup>100</sup> See Hygiene and Body Habits, p. 30.

<sup>101</sup> Literally, "upright people."



Some of those people can scarcely even read. But they look at the Bible a little and then they go and try to explain it like they were *padres* who had studied a lot.

A fellow I know turned *Evangelista* in order to change his habits and soon after that he hit his wife with a stick so hard she nearly died.

They say their religion is good because it does not expect them to drink, smoke, or gamble. But I've never seen any religion that expected those things.

The *Evangelistas* talk more about religion than anybody else. If you give them a chance, they'll drive you crazy. They say their religion is the best in the world because they have the power to see the Holy Ghost. As if they could see him!

The *Evangelistas* take so much pleasure in talking about their religion! They say the Catholics live in darkness but they themselves live in light because they are on the way to heaven. They say that everyone else will go to hell. When I meet an *Evangelista* I don't like to talk very long with him because they're always going on about their religion.

All *Evangelistas* were once Catholics. But they didn't go to Mass as they should. In fact, they really weren't anything. And so, with a little talk, they could be led anywhere.

I think one couldn't ask for a better religion than the Catholic, if you follow its teachings. It's like the *padre* says: if you do exactly what you are told to do, you will become a *santo*.

When a person belongs to one religion, he ought not to change. I'm a Catholic and why should I leave my religion to follow another. I may then want to leave that one.

The Catholic religion is the oldest there is. It was 1,500 years old when the *Evangelistas* began. The man who started the religion of the *Evangelistas* was a *padre* who didn't want to fulfill his obligations and went around talking against the Catholic Church.

It isn't necessary to talk against another man's religion. When one of those people says something to you, all you have to do is to pretend you didn't hear it and that's the end of it.

Occasionally, a group of people of one religion will get into a discussion with a group of people from another religion. But that doesn't get them anywhere. Each man should be allowed to think as he wishes.

They can follow their religion and I'll follow mine. They think their religion is good and I think mine is better.

These religions are each a different way of thinking. Some people profess one religion and think it is the only one; others follow another, and think it also is very good.

Religion is like politics. There are many parties. The largest party is the one that dominates. In religion that's the Catholic. It's also the oldest.

Although some religions are absurd, they are all alike in one thing; they never teach anyone to do anything bad.

It must not be a bad religion. They speak of God. The "brethren" are closely united. Not even a heavy rain will keep them from meeting together. Sometimes they arrive at church completely soaked. I went to hear the songs the other day. They were not bad.

The *Evangelistas* claim the Bible says that when the end of the world is about to come, the *Evangelistas* will go around preaching in the four corners of the world. That's what seems to be happening.

Each of the new cults is carried on with a simplicity and directness that is appreciated by the *caipira*. Much of the language used by the *padre* in the rituals of the church is not understood by the people, while all rituals of the new cults are not only conducted in the Brazilian language but, since the ritual is carried on largely by laymen, in the actual dialect which the *caipira* best understands. The emphasis laid upon participation in such rituals as reading the Bible and singing, develops in the individual a satisfying sense of personal worth and of belonging. The invocation of the Holy Ghost, made in the ceremonies of one of these sects, in a dramatic and impressive manner, readily develops in the more credulous a positive certainty of the actual presence of supernatural beings. The development of a measure of skepticism in the community with reference to the older sect (see Skepticism, p. 182) puts at least a few individuals in a more receptive frame of mind with reference to the new cult.<sup>200</sup>

"When I first came here about 6 years ago, remarked a villager, 'there were only a few *Evangelistas* in the whole community. Perhaps three or four who live near the old chapel and three or four others who lived this side of there. But now there are several more.' 'These people are increasing in numbers,' remarked another villager. 'They hold their religious ceremonies themselves, they treat everyone well and they never talk about money. If a new person goes to their cult, and there's no place to sit, someone will get up and give him his chair. They don't charge you anything to be baptized, nor anything to be married. They are simple people and you can see they believe very much in what they are doing.'

The various Protestant sects, however, are also in conflict with each other. "We follow the gospel," said a member of one sect. "All the others say they do but they don't. Christ was baptized

<sup>200</sup> This is equally true whether the sect be religious or political.



as we baptize, in the river. Those who do it any other way are not following the commandments. Besides, they smoke, they drink, and they go to dances. None of us do any of those things. And the women pray without a veil on their heads." Of the members of the sect which most recently entered the community, a member of another sect remarked, "They do everything wrong. They don't follow the Scriptures. They sing and shout all night and won't let people sleep. The Scriptures don't tell you to do that."

### SPIRITUALISM

No spiritualist ritual is carried on anywhere in the community. There is a Spiritualist center in the town of Boa Vista, however, and its activities sometimes influence the thought and other behavior of local inhabitants. Its leader is also a noted *curandeiro* whose advice in time of illness occasionally is sought by someone in the community.

The first contact with the cult usually results from efforts to deal with illness. A farm woman said:

I went to a Spiritualist session the other night because my little girl was sick and when I talked to the *curandeiro* in Boa Vista he told me to bring her to his meeting."

Said another farm woman:

We have gone to the Spiritualist cult in Boa Vista off and on for some time. That man there has helped lots of folks. Why, he has even taken people out of Juqueri! My son was "weak in his judgment." A spirit had entered into him. We had to shut him into a room and tie him up. Everyone said he would never get any better. He was so much trouble! And when he was tied up, he suffered so! But the spiritualist cured him! Cured him completely! My daughter is also "confused in her mind." We took her to the spiritualist a few weeks ago and he said she had an evil spirit roosting on her. Now she's much better. I take her there every Thursday night. He also gives "fluid water" to the sick; a bottle, with a piece of paper inside which has writing on it. He's a fine man! He always laughs and jokes with you. He doesn't make a charge for his services; just asks a person to give what he can. He used to be poor and now he's well off. All day long, people come there to see him. From as far away as São Paulo. A person must have patience. Some people give him up and go to a doctor; they spend all their money for nothing and finally they come back to him. I never used to go to a spiritualist. I was afraid to do it. I didn't believe in such things. But now I've had more experience.

== state insane asylum.

Occasionally, a favorable attitude toward Spiritualist belief and practice is expressed by other local residents. "The Spiritualist chain is of great power," remarked a middle-aged farmer. "It links all this weak world together." More commonly, however, persons are skeptical. "This nonsense," said an elderly woman, "has put more people in Juqueri than anything else." "What a terrible thing!" said a young man, 27 years old. "This getting mixed up with beings from the other world! The *padre* is right. Those beings are all devils; they are not spirits at all!" "Spiritualism," remarked another villager, "is a bunch of lies. I heard of a boy once who disappeared from home and his parents went to a Spiritualist and he said the boy was dead. The family was all upset. They didn't know whether to believe the man or not. So he had them come to a Spiritualist meeting and there a spirit spoke to them who said that he was their son. They were sure then that he had died and they arranged a Mass for his soul. But a few days later, the boy came home; nothing had happened to him. That stuff is all nonsense; it's only lies!"

The most common tendency among local inhabitants, however, is to be tolerant toward this system of belief and practice. "I do not go to Spiritualist sessions," said a farm woman, "but neither do I scoff at (*abuso*) this belief."

### SKEPTICISM

A limited amount of skepticism exists in the community with reference to the ideas, attitudes, and behavior associated with Catholic ritual and belief, the *almas*, *assombrações*, and other phenomena of the invisible world, and folk practices regarding sickness and its cure. It would appear to be more extensive in the younger generation, especially among the young men; to be less extensive among persons in the middle-age groups and least extensive among the older inhabitants. It is more extensive among men than women, a fact probably due to the greater mobility of the men and consequent wider range of contacts.

This attitude is revealed in the absence of persons from Mass, *ressa*, novena, confession, and the communion table. It is also revealed in failure to participate in the processions at *festas* and in the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of São Bom Jesus de Pirapora. The latter, as has been



indicated, was once abandoned and, although it was renewed a few years ago, appears at present again to be in process of disintegration. In comparison with the total population of the community, only a limited number of persons participated this past year. "There used to be over 400 pilgrims," remarked a villager. "That's a lot more than the 60 we had this time." A considerable portion, moreover, of those persons who made the pilgrimage absented themselves from the Mass celebrated upon that occasion in Pirapora, and a number of persons, especially among the men, did not confess or take communion.

This attitude is also reflected in such remarks as that of a villager, 54 years old, who said, "These *rezas* are not for men." "Religion is something that's more for women," remarked a young farmer. "A man has other things to do." "That's funny!" said a young man, 26 years old, as he listened outside the church to the singing at a *reza*. "Those he-men<sup>301</sup> in there with that slow, sad singing." "Everybody says he's a Catholic," remarked a farmer, "but just look around and see if you can find anyone who follows the teachings strictly."

Occasionally one observes an attempt to separate the religious behavior of the individual from cult activities. "My religion," remarked a villager, "is between me and God. The church has no part in it." "The religion I follow is that of my house," said another villager. "What does anyone gain by going to Mass and beating on his chest, unless he also lives a good life at home?"

At the time the ceremony was being held recently "to bring rain," a man who had come to the village a few years ago was heard to remark, in a hesitant tone of voice as if he were advancing a new idea of whose acceptance he was in doubt, "It's funny that in the dry season people never think of going to fetch the *santa* until the rainy season is about to begin. That's because of the men of the skirts (*padres*); they do that and ignorant people like us lap up such *patacoadas* (lies known to be lies) while those fellows suck up the nickels." Upon receiving some encouragement from a few other men present, he continued, "Do you think the powers that govern the world need people to come asking for things? If they make it dry, they know what they are doing; and if they

send rain, it's because they want to send it." "Who knows, though?" remarked a bystander, "Maybe they're busy up there and have forgotten us and it's a good thing if someone *dá uma cotucada* (prods them up a bit)," to which remark there was general laughter. After the *santa* had been carried in procession and the long-anticipated rain had fallen, the man who had recently come to the village remarked, "Yes, it rained all right. And now the *padres* are in luck. A 'miracle' like that brings in a lot of nickels."

During the procession in which the image of São João was carried to the creek (see Religious Festas, p. 162), three attitudes were evident among participants. Most persons were reverent and respectful; some persons appeared indifferent; while a few laughed and talked among themselves. Among those who gave evidence of reverence and respect, women and girls predominated; in the other two groups, men and boys predominated, the ages of those who were laughing and conversing being about 20 to 30 years. Ironical references were made by a few persons to the belief that one who does not see his face reflected in the water will die before the next *feita* of São João.

"A lot of people," said a villager, "are so ignorant that they believe in the *benzedor* [blesser]. Instead of calling a doctor when they're sick, they go get 'blessed,' instead." "Only backward people see *assombrações*," remarked a young man. "They notice something at night, and they're afraid; they don't go up close to see what it is and then they come away talking nonsense about meeting an *assombração*." "I've seen a lot of queer things at night there in the brush and I've gone up to them and found only a stump, or a spot of moonlight; nothing more. It's fear and backwardness that makes people see things like that."

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that skepticism is either widespread in the community or intense in any given individual. In fact, in proportion to the total body of belief, skepticism is rare and the skeptic anormal.<sup>302</sup> Doubts that exist are never reflected in active hostility to either belief or practice.

<sup>301</sup>The precise words used were "*cada bruto marmanhão*," a slang phrase.

<sup>302</sup>In this connection, one might suggest that the observer needs constantly to be on guard against taking at face value statements which appear to express skepticism but which are evoked by the presence of an outsider from the city whose point of view is assumed to differ from that common in the village community.



The most characteristic attitude among those who have doubts is reflected in the words of a villager who said, "I do not believe in these things; but neither do I 'abuse' them." The implication is that, although doubt exists, one cannot be completely certain about such matters; therefore, "It is better to be safe than sorry." "Arfredo says he doesn't believe in these things," remarked a farm woman, referring to her husband, "but it is only his mouth that says it; in his heart he isn't sure."

### POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

No small part of the thought of the older persons of the community, especially of the men, is given over to the anticipation, commendation, or criticism of political events. Wherever persons come together, politics is an unfailing topic of conversation. Although the intensity of this interest varies from time to time, it never reaches low ebb and periodically, especially preceding, during, and immediately following an election, it builds up to a point where the tensions involved may become so great that violence sometimes results from comparatively small incidents. "They get so excited over politics," said a young man, "that they forget to take both dinner and supper. They keep thinking their stomachs are full."

Local political activity consists in carrying on political relations with officials and candidates for office in the seat of the *município*; discussing personalities and, to the extent that they are identified with personalities, the issues; orienting voters; and getting out the vote on election day. These activities tend to be effective insofar as they are carried on in personal terms. Although the names, or more commonly the initials, of political parties are employed in conversation, the parties are almost entirely visualized as being of such and such a man, or group of men, rather than as representing specific issues or programs of action. At the time of election, intimate contacts and personal relations play decided roles in obtaining political support, a fact clearly reflected in the remark of a village leader when he said, "I have the key which controls the community. I have 53 *compadres*. Besides, there are my relatives, my children, my sons-in-law, my daughters-in-law, my nephews and nieces. Here in these parts, the Buenos and the Cardosos (the names of his own and his wife's families) é *mato* (are legion).

That's why no one here can win from me. Every election it's the same; if I go one way, you can bet they'll go with me and that we'll win."

Intimate contacts are equally essential when local officials seek to deal with officials in the seat of the *município*. On an impersonal or formal basis, little can be accomplished. "The government in Boa Vista is Zico Moraes," a farmer remarked, referring to an official whose office is located in the seat of the *município*. "Things here in the village are handled by Fernando (naming a local official); you come to an agreement with him and he comes to an agreement with Zico."

Favors done by a political leader for persons in the community, which have accumulated during the interval between elections, are usually paid off on election day. If, at this time, a person does not vote in keeping with the suggestions of his political leader, he need not expect favors in the future. Especially to illiterate, or almost illiterate, persons, these "connections" with someone who holds political power may be highly important, in the event they are forced to deal with governmental functionaries. "Suppose you have a field near a boundary line," said a farmer, "and the ants from your neighbor eat up your crop. If you ask your neighbor to get rid of the ants and he doesn't want to pay the expense, you take the matter to Fernando. But if he's against you (that is, if he is of another party), you won't get any satisfaction whatever. Then, where are you?"

Political differences among local inhabitants are the principal forces which undermine solidarity in the community. On none of the numerous occasions in which groups formed for hunting, for instance, during the period of the time the community was under observation, did partisans of both of the two principal political parties go along together. Political differences were much more important in this respect than, for instance, race or color differences. In these hunts, Negroes, whites, *mamelucos*, mulattoes, and *cafusos* participated together indiscriminately.

Bitterness engendered by political differences may endure for years. Of conflict between two persons in the community, a villager said, "This comes from the politics of long ago. It comes from envy that keeps accumulating. We would get along well here in the village, if it wasn't for politics."



At least so far as political activity outside the community is concerned, graft is locally considered to be inseparable from it. "When they handle so much money," explained a young farmer, "they certainly would take out enough for themselves. That's why they scrap so hard to get into office." "A man goes into the government thin and hungry," remarked a villager, "and he comes out fat. It's like an *invernada* (a pasture to fatten cattle). The politicians get in to fatten themselves up." A local official remarked of a villager:

Antonio went to Boa Vista to get a license to drive a truck. They told him it would cost 700 cruzeiros, besides the regular fee and the revenue stamps. That's nothing but graft. But if you don't pay, they will flunk you when you take your driver's examination, and you'll never get a license. So I went over to Boa Vista. You know our party won the last election here but we lost it in the *município* as a whole. You have to be careful. If those fellows in Boa Vista turn against you, you don't get a thing and then you lose out here, too. So I went to see a man I know there. He told them to let me have it for 300 cruzeiros. Politics are mighty dirty; they are really dirty. If those fellows still make my man pay that much, what won't they do to others?

A vocabulary has emerged to refer to certain behavior ordinarily considered to be attached to political activities, especially those outside the local community. Among these terms and phrases are *bajular* (to flatter someone in order to obtain a favor from him); and *fazer cambalacho* and *fazer tramaia politica*, both of which mean "to play dirty politics." Such behavior runs counter to the local mores, which lay a definite premium upon sincerity and honesty.

The executive branch of the State government is headed by a governor who appoints secretaries to assist him in discharging matters related to finance, public security, justice, roads and railways, agriculture, education, public health, industry, commerce, labor, and public works. The legislative branch is at present composed of 64 *deputados*, each of whom is elected from the State at large to represent 100,000 inhabitants.

The State of São Paulo is divided into 369 *municípios*, each of which is somewhat comparable to a county in the United States, although there are significant differences. A *município* consists of a town of varying size, together with the immediately surrounding territory. The town, regardless of the number of its inhabitants, is called

a *cidade* (literally, *city*) and has no corporate existence apart from the *município*. The latter invariably bears its name. The executive officer of the *município* is called a *prefeito*. A *camara de vereadores*, composed of 13 members in the *município* of which the community under study is a part, acts as a local legislative body, over whose acts, however, the *prefeito* exercises veto power. The number of *vereadores* depends upon the population of the *município*, one being elected for each 2,000 inhabitants, with an extra member should the total be an even number. The *município* in which the community under study is located covers about 300 square miles and its *sede* (seat) is a town of about 5,000 inhabitants.

The *município* is divided into *distritos de paz*, each centering about a smaller population nucleus which is always called a *vila*, even though it may range in size from a small hamlet to a large town. The *distrito* differs considerably from the township to which it sometimes is compared, the principal variation being that its existence is due to the presence of a population nucleus in the *município* other than the larger town which is the seat of the *município*. It also varies in the fact that the area immediately surrounding the *vila* is considered to be related, for political purposes, directly to it, and only indirectly to the *município*, a relation which is symbolized by the further fact that every *distrito* bears the name of the *vila* which is its center.

Cruz das Almas is the seat of a *distrito*, of which there are four in the local *município*. A *sub-prefeito*, named by and directly responsible to the *prefeito*, acts as the principal executive officer. During the period of time the village was under observation, however, this office was vacant and the local *fiscal*, whose usual obligation is that of collecting fees payable to the local government, acted instead.

The governor, a vice governor, the *deputados*, the *prefeitos* and the *vereadores* are all elected for a term of 4 years.

The State is divided into 139 *comarcas*, or judicial districts, which may or may not correspond, in a given case, to a *município*. In each *distrito* is a *juiz de paz* whose responsibilities include settling small disputes such as those over the boundary lines of properties and presiding at civil wedding ceremonies.



The assessment and collection of local taxes are made by the State government. Although an official for this purpose resides in the village, he is directly responsible to *município* officials. The State also assigns to the *distrito*, of which the village under study is the seat, a *soldado* who lives in the village. The local schools are State-established and supported. The calling of young men for military training is a Federal function.

In general, little concern is paid locally to politics outside the *município*. In a real sense, the latter is still the fundamental unit of Brazilian Government, in spite of the increasing trend to centralization during the last two decades. For villagers and farmers of the local community, the State government appears remote and the Federal Government has little meaning. "The election for governor doesn't interest us very much," said a village official and local political leader. "Those people live in another world. It's the election of the *prefeito* and our own *vereador* that's *aqui em casa* (here at home). If our candidates for these two offices are elected, we have support and can get what we need for the village. If we all stick together, we'll come out on top. The fight there in Boa Vista is awfully close and we can turn the scales."

News of Communist activity in the cities has reached the village but there is no Communist activity in the community, nor has Communist ideology at present any local adepts.

In a recent election, the larger of the two contending parties in the community was led by the *sub-delegado* whose followers include almost all the residents of the village and a considerable portion of those in the surrounding area. The minority group was led by a former *sub-delegado* who, by reason of certain attitudes of superiority shown in the past toward other members of the community is not well liked. (See Conflict, p. 196.) The local campaign began approximately 4 months before election and was carried on intensely, without the aid of newspaper, radio, leaflet, or poster, until shortly before the day set for the election, when a few posters and leaflets were brought over from the seat of the *município* and copies of the newspaper published there were also distributed. The campaign proceeded largely by way of conversation whenever, either by accident or design, a local leader met a relative, *compadre*, or other ac-

quaintance. The degree of intimacy between the persons in question, their kinship or *compadrio* relation, the frequency and intensity of their contacts, together with the community of interest which they shared, were the more important considerations in determining the effectiveness of this campaign. Each leader sought to convey to everyone whose vote he thought he might influence, his own idea as to whom he should vote for and why. The leader of the majority group, for instance, would say:

You must vote for Januário for *prefeito* and Flávio for *vereador*. Those are our candidates. I'm voting that way and so are all my brothers, my children, my sons-in-law, my daughters-in-law, and my nephews and nieces; and so is Inácio and Matias and Little Boots<sup>22</sup> and Domingos and Zé and Simão and Rino and Chiquinho. We are all going to vote that way. Everyone here in the village is with us. And *mocê* is with us too, I'm sure. I'm going to see all your people, your family, and your *compadres* and tell them how things are. And then on election day, we'll all stand together. If we are united and strong, we can get something done for this place.

Later, as the campaign proceeded, this leader remarked:

*Tá tudo controlado* (Everything is "under control"). The "keys" (men of local prestige) are all declaring themselves. My two brothers "control" all the people there in Rio Abaixo (a local neighborhood) as far as the *sítio* of Little Boots. This side of there, Inácio and João the Ox are the absolute "keys." On the other side of the village there's Zé Red and Nego and Biruta who "control" from Zé's place up to the river. On the side of São José dos Patos, there are the Montelero and Barreto families. In the Black Cross area, the "keys" are also coming out on our side. And here in the village, I and Little Moustache "control" almost everything.

One Sunday, about 2 weeks before the day set for the election, the candidates for *prefeito* and *vereador* of one of the parties, together with several friends, came over to the village from the seat of the *município*. Two men from the group went into the principal *botequim* to "treat" all the local residents who were present. Other men began to distribute leaflets and posters. Two large banners were strung up in the *praça*. On one was printed, "Vote for Bento Amorim for *vereador*. He is your fellow villager and knows your needs"; and, on the other, "For *prefeito*, Lourenço Barros, the man who has no selfish interests."

<sup>22</sup> A nickname.



Since, however, the candidates of this party had few partisans and few opponents in the village, the visit evoked little interest or comment. Of the candidate for *prefeito*, several villagers remarked, "He isn't a bad sort. He's better than Chato (naming the candidate of the principal opposition)." Of the candidate for *vereador*, however, one villager said, "That fellow has the nerve to say he's from here and knows our needs. He once was a *caipira* just like we are, but he went away to study and became so important he doesn't know anyone any more. When you meet him in Boa Vista, he passes you up." "That's right!" replied another villager, "he hasn't been here for 12 years; and, now, just about election time, he suddenly remembers he's our fellow villager. *Isso num pega* (literally, 'that doesn't catch hold'; i. e., it will not be effective)."

A few days later, two automobiles and a truck bearing the candidates for *prefeito* and *vereador* of the party supported by most of the local inhabitants, together with several friends, appeared in the village. Their coming had previously been announced by word of mouth. Flávio, the candidate for *vereador* had grown up in the village and, since moving to the seat of the *município*, had maintained cordial contact with local inhabitants. The members of the village band gathered around and played a march. Both candidates and another leader of the party climbed into the truck and each spoke in turn to the approximately 100 persons who had gathered around. The candidate for *prefeito* said, "I had never thought of being a candidate. But, one day, Flávio, who is your candidate for *vereador*, came to my house and said, 'We have selected you to be our candidate for *prefeito*. The people of the village are with us. You can count on all of us.' So I accepted, and now I've come to see if Flávio was right when he told me 'The people of the village are with us.'"

The third leader of the party then spoke briefly. During his remarks, the statement "These men who are going to be the new *prefeito* and your *vereador*, are both of them men of the people, simple men like us," was repeated again and again. With a modesty and simplicity which were much appreciated, the candidate for *vereador* then thanked the local inhabitants for their attention and support. When he had finished, he was given a spontaneous *Viva!* and the members of the

village band played another march. All the members of the band were present except one who had become a partisan of the opposition party. For not being present, he was severely censured.

The following afternoon, a truck, covered with posters, brought a third candidate for *prefeito* and his friends into the village. As the truck was driven around the *praça*, a man repeated, over and over, through a loud-speaker, "Vote for Lino, the candidate of the people." As the driver pulled up in front of the church, about a dozen men and boys gathered around. Two men began to scratch themselves vigorously, "as if they were full of *chatos*," a bystander said. This behavior was motivated by the facts that most local inhabitants were opposed to the candidate and that his nickname was "Chato," a slang term used to refer both to a certain body parasite, thought especially to inhabit brothels, and someone who is considered a "bore." Several persons called out, "For *chatos*, get *detefon*, get *detefon*!"<sup>20</sup> The volume of the loud-speaker was turned up, but this action merely resulted in louder and more ironic shouts on the part of the two men and other townspeople. The truck then drove once more around the *praça* and left the village. On the faces of other persons who, attracted by the commotion, appeared at the windows and doors of their homes, were evidences of approval of the behavior of their fellow villagers. "What is Chato doing here?" was a common remark. "He knows we're against him."

Meanwhile, the leaders of the two opposing parties in the community had persistently continued conversations with local inhabitants, regarding the way they would like them to vote. As the day of the election approached, the tension in the village increased. During the final week, almost no other topic of conversation was discussed. On election eve, a truck was arranged by the partisans of each party to leave at daylight to bring in persons who otherwise, by reason of age or distance, would have difficulty in reaching the polls. Two head of cattle were slaughtered for the *churrascos*, or barbecues, which the two parties would give the next day.

By 5 o'clock the following morning, the streets of the village were already beginning to fill with people. In keeping with the law, the *botequins* and *vendas* remained closed. People milled about

<sup>20</sup> A form of D. D. T., sold in Brazil.



or talked together in small groups, local leaders making a final appeal to acquaintances to show their friendship, "good sense" and "love of the village" by voting as suggested. Preparations for both barbecues were under way (pl. 19, c). A group of women, with small children in their arms, had already gathered at the village registry office, where the voting was to take place, so as to cast their votes early and "be free to get dinner," as one of them said.

Few people were present at the barbecue of the party unsupported by most of the local inhabitants. At the other barbecue, however, a large crowd had gathered by 8 o'clock in the morning and continued to mill about until 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Twelve *arrobas*, or about 380 pounds of meat were consumed. Since those who had come into the village from distant *sitios* would have to be away a considerable part of the day and there ordinarily is no provision for obtaining food in the village other than that available at the stores, all of which were closed on this day, a barbecue is a means of developing considerable good will for the party responsible. The conversation was almost entirely given over to discussing the merits of the respective candidates.

In the meantime, a village official had taken up a position in the principal road leading into the village. To each person, or group of persons, coming into the village, he remarked, "By chance, do you have a weapon with you? I'm here to warn you that the *soldado* is searching everyone that comes into the village and taking away his weapon. If you go in with one, you'll lose it." "Many people thanked me," the official remarked, later, to a friend, "and pretty soon I had a pile of knives and two *garruchas*. I also asked if they had their *cédulas*<sup>22</sup> with them. If they had a *cédula* for some other candidate, I often got them to exchange it for one of ours." Similar activity was occurring on the other roads.

In the village, other workers for each party passed among groups of people, asking if they had their *cédulas* ready and, when a voter showed one of the opposite party, attempted to get him to exchange it. Expressions on the faces of the leaders of the majority party, as well as their other

gestures, reflected positive certainty in a local victory for their candidates.

Up until about 11 o'clock, most of the voters were women; from that time on, men predominated. Shortly before 6 o'clock, all had voted. Of a total of 316 eligible voters in the *distrito*, 239, or approximately three-fourths (75.6 percent) had exercised their suffrage. The distribution by sex was as follows:

	Eligible voters	Actual No.	Per- cent
Men	223	159	71.3
Women	93	80	86.0
Total	316	239	75.6

The following account of the election, given by a young farmer, reveals the ideas, attitudes, and behavior associated with this experience, especially on the part of the younger men.

When I went to the village on Saturday, everyone was talking politics. Another *soldado* had been sent to help the one in the village, in case there was any trouble. I wanted to go up in time the next morning to see the polls open; but they open so early and, since it was Sunday, I slept later than usual. It was 8 o'clock when I and my brother left home. On the way, we met Fernando (the village official mentioned above) and I let him have my knife. When we got to the village, a *soldado* was standing in the middle of the road. As we came up, he asked if I had a weapon with me and I said "No." I turned out of the way a little and walked around him and didn't stop to let him search me. I don't think the *soldado* liked it at all. I noticed, though, that many other people were doing the same thing. Only fools let themselves be searched.

In the village there was a lot of excitement. All the leaders were there, with big smiles on their faces, greeting everyone and asking them to vote for their candidates. I went to the voting place. It was packed. I then went to Mass. When I came out, a friend told me that there were two barbecues being held. I thought that was fine. There were so many people at the barbecue which our party gave, that there hardly was enough beef to go around. I had a piece, and it was very good.

The selling of liquor is prohibited, you know, on election day. That's pretty hard on those who are used to taking a drink or two now and then.

The morning passed without anything very exciting. But, about half past twelve, when I, one of my cousins and a friend were in front of the church talking, Paulo came up the street from his house. Just as he passed us, someone standing near the corner who doesn't like Paulo and his candidates any better than we do, yelled at him, "*¡Vejan o churrasco de boi berno!*" (*Churrasco chato!*) (Did you see the barbecue with beef that's full of *berne*!)"

<sup>22</sup> Voting is accomplished by putting in the ballot box a piece of paper, called a *cédula*, on which the name of the candidate (or candidates) voted for, has been printed.

<sup>23</sup> See Wildlife, p. 21.



Oh, what a punk barbecue!" Paulo stopped, and asked us who had said that. We told him we didn't know; that we had been talking and hadn't been paying attention. Paulo then yelled at the man he thought had yelled at him and gave him a good tongue lashing. Even then he wasn't satisfied and went to find the *soldado* to tell the fellow to keep quiet. Later on, there was some confusion at the polls because there were two voters of our party with the same name and the opposition was going to deny one of them the right to vote. There also was a heated discussion between Luiz, who's for us, and Affonso who votes with the opposition. Luiz accused Affonso of hiding the *titulo*<sup>88</sup> of one of his nieces who wanted to vote for the men of the other party. Luiz said that Affonso's party was always doing things like that and there would have to be a stop put to it. He said he and his friends were not fools to be taken in by such tricks. There was a lot of shouting around and waving of arms before they got it settled. If there had been a fight, it would have been some fight, because a lot of people were all excited. Finally, Affonso left, talking back over his shoulder. Luiz followed him, shouting at him loudly. As they went up the street, a friend of Luiz's called to him to turn back. He didn't want any trouble. If Luiz's friend hadn't done that, I think there would have been a fight. At one time, while this was going on, Luiz passed in front of me. I moved over to one side right away, for if any bullets were going to fly, I didn't want to stop one.

At 5:40, the polls closed and the urn was sealed and taken to Boa Vista. It was quite a day.

### RACE RELATIONS

As has been indicated, persons from the three basic races have long shared the local habitat. The colonizing European, especially of Portuguese origin, first came into the area, which had previously been inhabited by indigenous Indians, probably some time in the late sixteenth century, and subsequently there were imported into the community many Indians from other regions. For a long time, whites, Indians, and Indian-white mixed-bloods lived here in intimate contact until eventually the Indian, as both a biological and a cultural entity, was completely, or almost completely, absorbed.

Some decades after the whites began to settle in the area, the first Africans were imported into the community. As early as 1780, according to a listing of the population, made in that year for the Governor General, there were in the local parish 335 Negro slaves. Of the 90 heads of free families listed on the rolls as at that time living in the community, 61 percent owned slaves. One

of the leading citizens owned 85, or slightly more than one-fourth of the total. Two captains of militia owned, respectively, 22 and 17 slaves, another officer of lesser rank owned 14 and a vicar owned 13. Another man owned 32 slaves and two women owned 20 and 16, respectively. Three families owned one slave each, nine families owned two slaves each, and four families owned three slaves each. The other heads of families each owned from one to nine slaves, the average being slightly less than four.

In the local community, as elsewhere in Brazil, the development of personal relations between the slave, on the one hand, and the master and his family, on the other, tended to undermine the formal relationship. The godfather, for instance, of an elderly man now living in the village, is remembered as "a father to his slaves." When the decree of 1888 set free all slaves not yet manumitted in Brazil, "not a single one left his *fazenda*; all stayed with him and continued to work as before." At his death, he left all his property, including land and livestock, to his slaves.

Local villagers remember a former slave who, after abolition, became a person of considerable prominence in the community. "He was esteemed by young and old," remarked a village leader. "He knew how to shoe horses, to make bricks, to cut hair and to play the *violão*." The chapel of the Santa Cruz in the village was built by this man and the first *feita* to be held there was organized by him.

In the present population, the white contribution is the most evident, the number of persons who not only are considered white but who also are predominantly white by anthropological criteria, being clearly in the majority. Many individuals, in skin color, hair texture, and the formation of lips and nose, give evidence of European origin alone; while the number of individuals who appear to be of relatively pure African descent is quite small and no person who was observed appeared to be of pure Indian origin.

At the same time, casual observation of the population affords indisputable evidence of the operation over a considerable period of time of the process of amalgamation, involving all of the three basic races. In the physical characteristics of many individuals who are predominantly white, there are observable slight, moderate, or even quite

<sup>88</sup> Registration slip presented by each voter before voting.



obvious evidences of Indian or African origin. As is to be expected, given the rather extensive operation of the process of amalgamation which, however, has covered only a limited number of generations, there is a large variety of mixtures of Indian, African, and European characteristics. The determination, in the case of a given individual, of the precise contribution of each of the three racial stocks would be an exceedingly difficult procedure. In general, however, the Indian contribution has been considerably greater than the African.

Racial categories are not employed in the vital statistics of the community. As has been indicated, color categories are used instead, there being three principal distinctions: *branco* (white), *preto* (black), and *pardo* (intermediate).<sup>208</sup> As is true in other parts of Brazil, these categories have limited meaning in terms of physical anthropology. They are sociological, rather than anthropological, categories; that is, they reflect what local residents consider the terms to mean and also the way whites in the community behave toward persons of color. If a given individual appears to the registrar to look more like a white than a black or a *pardo* he is listed as a white, even though to persons sensitized to racial distinctions, and especially to the trained specialist, physical traits of non-European origin are clearly observable.

These categories are sociological in the further fact that the listing of a given individual reflects the relation to him of the person who is making the listing. If the registrar is a particular friend of the person in question, or of his family, an obvious black in all likelihood will be listed as a *pardo* and an obvious *pardo* as a "white." This may also occur if, on the day in question, the person doing the listing happens to be in an especially friendly mood or otherwise to be more than usually well-disposed toward the person being listed. The tendency to "grade-up" individuals in the color scale, especially under conditions of primary contact, is marked.

In fact, this tendency has become so extensive in Brazil that it may be said to now constitute an expected pattern of behavior. To fail to refer to a black, especially in his presence, as if he were at least a *pardo*, and to a *pardo* as if he were a white, is considered "bad form." It indicates that the

individual is lacking in that personal characteristic so emphasized in the local mores, namely, "knowing how to treat others well."

Thus, according to the official records of births kept by the village registrar, no black was born in the *distrito* during the 17 years from 1931 to 1947, or that period for which data on the color of births, in comparatively recent years, are available. Casual observation, however, reveals that there are in the village and nearby area a number of children under 17 years of age who, to all appearances are of relatively unmixed African origin. At least 27 blacks in this age group were observed.

Little attention is paid in other respects to either racial or color variations. One rarely refers to a given person as other than João or Maria. If one has occasion to speak of his color, the three categories mentioned above usually are employed, although rarely in the presence of the person in question. Only in extreme anger is the fact of obvious physical difference referred to. A black person is never called a "Negro" (Pierson, 1942, p. 138) to his face except in a quarrel. Ordinarily he will not even be referred to as a *preto* (black). He will simply be called an *homem* (man). "A man may be a black," said a white villager, "but he is also a person."

At the same time, prestige definitely attaches to white color, a fact not difficult to understand in the light of Brazilian history. Shortly after the arrival of the Europeans, the whites became dominant ecologically, economically, politically, and culturally. The only way for an individual of Indian or African origin to compete effectively was to take over significant elements of the white's culture. Under these circumstances, white color easily became symbolic of superior status.

These statements will perhaps be more clear if we consider the participation of persons from the various ethnic groups in the social life of the community. Persons of color will be invited, just like anyone else, to the house of a white. They will eat at the white's table. They will participate with whites in religious, as well as secular, *festas*. They will in no way be discriminated against in friendship, in employment, in voting, or in treatment by local officials.

In the groups of conversation which form spontaneously at the *vendas* and elsewhere in the vil-

<sup>208</sup> "Yellow" is also used to refer to an occasional Japanese.



lage are to be seen men representing the entire range of color variation in the community. All converse together on terms of intimacy. There is no segregation of any kind. Similarly, blacks, mulattoes, *cafusos*, and *mamelucos* regularly drink and joke together at the *botequins*, play cards with one another or otherwise share activities, without any restraint being laid upon their conduct by reason of color. Especially indicative of relations between persons from the different color groups is the *virada*, described in the section on Etiquette (p. 122) in which everyone present partakes of a "common cup" on equal terms.

Among the principal leaders of the hunting and fishing groups are a *cafuso*, four *mamelucos* and three whites. When inviting other men to join them, there would seem to be no attempt to take into consideration variations either of race or color. Two blacks usually are among the hunters and when exploits in connection with hunts are recounted, the names of these two men figure prominently. One or more of five other *mamelucos*, all of whom are able hunters, are often to be seen in these groups.

At 13 dances observed, no discrimination of any kind was noted. Seven of the dances were held at village homes in celebration of a birthday or other family event, five in other homes merely for entertainment, and one in the open air at a *feita*. Among the persons present were whites, blacks, mulattoes, *mamelucos*, and *cafusos*, all of whom were seated or standing together, indiscriminately. At one of these dances, for instance, there were present 16 young women, of whom 7 were whites, 3 were blacks, 1 was a dark *cafusa*, 3 were *mamelucas*, and 2 were obviously descended from all the three basic races. The dance began at 9 o'clock and continued until shortly after midnight, during which time none of the young women, including the three blacks and the dark *cafusa*, failed, upon every occasion, to be invited to dance, each being sought out by white, mixed-blood, or black partners. Meanwhile, the white girls danced with blacks and mixed bloods, without there being apparent the slightest indication, on either part, of strangeness, or opposition.

At present, a case of *namoro* (courtship) which is in process in the village involves a white boy and a mulatto girl. No word of reproach or disapproval of any kind on either racial or color

grounds has been heard with reference to this couple. The behavior of the members of the community toward the two young persons would appear to differ in no way from that toward the principals in other cases of courtship. It would seem to be considered the normal outcome of natural events.

The "racial" composition of worshipers at the 10 o'clock Mass on two Sundays in the village was probably that given in table 15. There was no segregation of any kind. The *padre* was white. Of the three acolytes, one was white, one was black, and one was a mulatto.

TABLE 15.—Probable "racial" distribution at Mass, Cruz das Almas community, two Sundays, 1948<sup>1</sup>

"Race"	Masculine		Feminine		Total	Percent
	Jan. 25	Feb. 15	Jan. 25	Feb. 15		
White.....	10	19	34	23	96	55.9
Black.....	6	4	6	3	19	11.0
Mixed-blood.....	7	10	22	18	57	34.1
Total.....	23	33	62	44	173	100.0

<sup>1</sup> As indicated by inspection.

<sup>2</sup> Probable distribution: males: mulatto, 1; *mameluco*, 11; *cafuso*, 5; females: mulatto, 2; *mameluco*, 15; *cafusa*, 15.

The *fiscal* is white, as also are the *sub-delegado* and the *juiz de paz*. The tax collector is a *mameluco*, as also is the local registrar of vital statistics and the village bell ringer. The mail carrier is a dark mulatto. One of the part-time barbers is black and the other, who also shoes horses, is white, as is the tinsmith. The gravedigger is white. The most widely respected storekeeper is a *cafuso*; another storekeeper, whose father is a *mameluco*, is considered white; the third storekeeper, as has been indicated, is a Japanese. The owners of the two *botequins* are both white.

The common attitude toward the Japanese storekeeper and his wife is accurately reflected in the remarks of a young man who said, "They also are Brazilians. It's like one of them said, 'I too am a Brazilian; it's only that the face doesn't help.' A Japanese married to a Brazilian will have beautiful children, though. And the children will all be pure Brazilians."

#### INTERMARRIAGE

If discrimination on the basis of color exists in the community, it is in the final and ultimate realm of personal relations; that is, with refer-



ence to marriage and incorporation into the family. The tendency has always been for whites to marry whites and for blacks to marry blacks.

At the same time, there has been a considerable number of intermarriages, involving, at times, even partners from the opposite ends of the color scale. The marriage of mixed-bloods—*mamelucos*, mulattoes, and *cafusos*—with whites has long been a common phenomenon.

The imprecision, from an anthropological point of view, of local color categories, together with the tendency of the several registrars involved to "grade-up" individuals in the color scale, obviously reduces the value of village marriage records in determining the actual extent of intermarriage. The error, however, may be in the direction of an understatement rather than an exaggeration. Since there is a considerable number of individuals in the community who are descended only from European stock, the tendency to list actual *pardos* in the white category undervalues the number of cases of intermarriage which actually occur among persons listed in that category. And, although it is true that, in some cases where the registrar has listed a *pardo* as marrying a white the "white" is in fact a mixed-blood, the number of these cases perhaps is less than the number of intermarriages "hidden" in the white category.

During the 17 years from 1931 to 1947, inclusive, or that period during which color was taken account of in the marriage records of the community, there were 315 marriages. Of the total, approximately two-thirds were listed as marriages of *brancos* with *brancas*; that is, of white men with white women, as these terms are employed locally. In approximately a sixth of the marriages, a *pardo* was listed as marrying a *branca*; that is, a medium-dark or dark mixed-blood man was listed as marrying a white woman. In slightly less than one-tenth of the marriages, a *branco* was listed as marrying a *parda*; that is, a white man was listed as marrying a medium-dark or dark mixed-blood. There were no marriages recorded in which either a *branco* married a *preta* or a *preto* married a *branca*; that is, in which a white man married a black woman or a black man married a white woman. This fact, however, is probably due more to the tendency of the local registrar to "grade-up" individuals in the color scale, under conditions of primary contact, than to the complete absence

of such marriages in the community. These data are given in table 16.

TABLE 16.—Marriages, by local designation of color, Cruz das Almas Community, 1931-47<sup>1</sup>

Color		Number	Percent
Husband	Wife		
<i>Branco</i> .....	<i>Branca</i> .....	191	60.7
Do.....	<i>Parda</i> .....	30	9.5
Do.....	<i>Preta</i> .....		
<i>Pardo</i> .....	<i>Branca</i> .....	21	16.8
Do.....	<i>Parda</i> .....	30	9.5
Do.....	<i>Preta</i> .....	1	.3
<i>Preto</i> .....	<i>Branca</i> .....		
Do.....	<i>Parda</i> .....	1	1.0
Do.....	<i>Preta</i> .....	6	1.9
Other? <sup>2</sup> .....	Other? <sup>2</sup> .....	1	.3
Total.....		315	100.0

<sup>1</sup> Source: Official records in village *Carterio*. Marriages in 1939 (21 cases) are omitted because in that year spouses were not specified by color.  
<sup>2</sup> Japanese.

In the village and on nearby farms there are seven married couples, of which one of the spouses is white and the other of relatively pure Negro or Negro-Indian origin. In every case except one, the white partner is a man. The respective colors and ages are as follows:

- Man white, 65; woman black, with kinky hair, 48.
- Man white, 45; woman black, with kinky hair, 37.
- Man white, 25; woman black, with kinky hair, 28.
- Man white, 48; woman *cafusa*, with "straight" hair, 45.
- Man white, 32; woman *cafusa*, with kinky hair, 26.
- Man white, 21; woman black, with kinky hair, 18.
- Man black, with kinky hair, 45; woman white, 29.

In all cases, the spouses are from the same economic and educational level. In each case also, the personal competence of the spouses is relatively equal.

It is questionable whether, from a realistic point of view, one is justified in using the term "intermarriage" in connection with these cases. Certainly, they are not so thought of in the community. The Portuguese term for intermarriage was coined in recent years by specialists, and it is doubtful if anyone in the community is familiar with it. The term was not heard on the lips of a local resident during the course of this study. Nor are these cases thought of by persons in the community as in any way distinct from other cases of marriage. This is not to say, of course, that local residents are blind to obvious physical differences. If the matter is called to their attention, the fact of physical variation will readily be admitted. The attitude



thereby evoked, however, could well be expressed in the phrase, "Well, what of it?"

The relative absence of comment upon these cases is probably due to the relative absence of class differentiation in the population. In other parts of Brazil, where class distinctions are more marked, a definite line is drawn by white members of the upper classes at marriage with a person from the other end of the color scale; just as a line is drawn, and probably largely for the same reason, at marriages between individuals from the extreme limits of the class scale. The descendants of the old, once proud, families that still live in the community are now reduced in condition to the point where educationally, and otherwise culturally, they are in no way superior, but even sometimes inferior, to persons from families of more humble origin. As the class line has disappeared in the community, the discrimination which is based in class (Pierson, 1942), and in cultural variations identified with class, is also disappearing. Memories of the once slave status of the Negro are becoming dimmer with the passage of time. The former association, in the minds of the whites, of low status with dark color, is thus also disappearing. The difficult economic struggle in which all members of the community share, tends to make the individual's personal competence more and more the primary criterion of his status.

A case reported in the community is illuminating in this regard. A villager recalls that several years ago a cousin of his father, who had been a high official of the State of São Paulo, objected strenuously to his daughter marrying a *soldado da força pública* (member of the military police) who was also a mulatto. "At the table one day," the villager relates, "the girl became obstinate and finally blurted out that she would marry the man, whether her father wanted her to, or not. Livid with rage, he got up and shot her through the heart and then killed himself." "It was his pride," explained the villager. "His daughter wouldn't obey him. And, besides, he had been a high official of the State and his daughter wanted to marry a man who was only a *soldado*." The fact that the local resident laid emphasis upon the threatened disobedience of a daughter and the modest station of her suitor, rather than upon the race or color of the latter, reveals the actual character of the racial situation.

The incident would seem to indicate that cases of opposition of parents to the marriage of a child, an opposition which at first glance would seem to be on racial or color grounds, need to be analyzed further to discover the actual, rather than the apparent, motives involved. Persons from the United States, accustomed from birth to a different racial situation, are sometimes led to see evidences of racial, or color, discrimination where little, if any, exists. In a given case, the discrimination may be real and it may be directed toward a person of color; but the hypothesis that the motives involved spring primarily from racial, or even color, variations needs to be proved. Of her husband's white brother, for instance, a white woman in the village said, "His mother didn't want him to marry Rita. But it wasn't because she was a mulatto. His mother just didn't like Rita's ways. She didn't think she was the kind of a girl who would make a good wife for her son." "My brother's first wife," said a white woman in the local community, "was a black. She had kinky hair. She'd comb it and comb it to try to straighten it. She'd put a hairpin here and a hairpin there. But still it kinked. Yes, she was a black. Everyone admitted that. But she was also pretty, very pretty. And she was a hard worker, too. She even knew how to crochet. She could sing. She certainly was a mighty good woman. She was 'of fine cloth.'"

At the same time, there is a tendency in the local community, as elsewhere in Brazil, to marry a person who is as light as possible. As has been indicated, white color still carries prestige, while dark color has long been associated with low status. For generations the black was the slave and the white man the master and the memory of this situation has not yet completely disappeared.

In the local community, however, this tendency is easily altered. "When João," remarked a white woman of her black husband, "wanted to marry me, my older brother, who was married and living away from home, asked me to come see him and he said, 'You want to look well at that man's color before you marry him.' Then I said to him, 'Did you look well at the face of your wife before you married her?' His wife, you know, is black. And he laughed." "My Aunt Isaura over at Paratinga," said a young farm woman of a white relative, "married a black. That was around 8



years ago. When she was about to marry him, her sister said to her, 'Isaura, how do you have the courage to marry a black man? How can you stand to turn over at night and find that *mico*<sup>200</sup> sleeping beside you. How can you do it?' Yes, her sister talked to her that way. But then, later, her sister herself married a black man, a man even blacker."

"My daughter," said a white farm woman, "married a colored man, a dark mulatto. But we were glad to see her married." The implication of the remark was that the important concern was for the daughter to marry; a white man preferably, but at least to marry. "Yes, my husband is black," said another white farm woman. "But there's nothing he doesn't know how to do. He knows how to farm. He can also do carpenter work; he built this house. He can write, too. You should see what a pretty hand he has! What if he is black? Blacks are people, aren't they?"

The only serious objection to intermarriage heard in the community during the course of this study was voiced neither by a white nor a black and came, not from a Brazilian, but from one of the two Japanese families in the community. The parents were objecting to their oldest son marrying a Brazilian girl. The objection, however, was on personal and cultural, rather than racial, grounds, as is clear from the following account of the situation given by the wife of a village official:

The parents of Durvalino are dead set against his marrying Zilda. His mother has become ill over it. She said to me, "That girl will not do for my son. He is poor and needs a girl who knows how to work hard and will live here with us." His mother is right. Japanese women do everything. They wash the clothes, they hang them up, they iron them, and then they go out and work in the fields, with a child strapped to their backs. Zilda wouldn't do that. Besides, Japanese women expect little in return and Zilda likes nice dresses and things. A Japanese son must live with his father's family, too, and Zilda wouldn't like that.

### CONFLICT

Conflict of a racial, cultural, national, or class form does not exist in the community. The intensity of the competition existing between the three storekeepers, the owner of the bakery, and the owners of the two *botequins* has been insufficient to provoke any measurable consciousness of

opposition and thus to turn competition into conflict. There is otherwise little competition between individuals for a place in the local economy.

Conflict occasionally emerges out of competition within the family regarding inherited property and may lead to bitterness and spiteful behavior. In at least one case, lawyer's and surveyor's fees have forced the sale of a considerable portion of the estate which thus has passed out of the control of the family.

Rivalry in fishing and hunting exploits, in card playing, in the drinking of *pinga*, in effectiveness of speech and other gestures, in *lidá com a gente* (getting on with one's fellows), in developing other social characteristics which are expected of the individual and which carry prestige, is a common characteristic of life in the community. In this form of conflict, the struggle of individuals usually is subordinated to the interests and well-being of the group; it merely results in the sifting out of individuals in terms of status and prestige.

In a culture where extreme sensitiveness on the part of the individual is a common characteristic, quarrels easily arise and occasionally lead to violence in the form of "crimes of passion." A villager recalls an occurrence some years ago when several men "quarreled and fought" over cattle. "It was early in the morning," he recalls. "None had yet taken *café*. One died of a bullet in his chest and the other with his head split open with a *foice*.<sup>201</sup> Five fought and two died."

Occasionally, as the result of a quarrel, persons may sulk, refusing to speak to each other over a long period of time. Life, however, must go on. In a society where relations characteristically are primary, contacts only with difficulty can be avoided. Relatives and close friends may try to reestablish cordial relations. If the effort fails and, especially if the incident arises out of activity, political or otherwise, where each individual is supported by a faction, they may become *inimigos* (enemies), irritations and misunderstandings accumulating until mutual dislike and antagonism become permanent. If a man once becomes the acknowledged *inimigo* (enemy) of another, almost without exception, he is an enemy for life.

One's person is inviolate. To touch another individual, except in keeping with local etiquette,

<sup>200</sup> Monkey.

<sup>201</sup> See Tools and Other Equipment, p. 50.



is always resented and, if it be done in anger, is a mortal offense. A serious discussion or quarrel may be carried on with violent gestures which, although they pass all about the face of an opponent, at times coming so close as almost to touch him, are always checked short of that point. To "settle a dispute" with fisticuffs, as is done in some cultures, subsequent to which the disputants shake hands and are once more friends, would be incomprehensible behavior to local inhabitants. No one could understand how a person could lay a hand upon another except under conditions of uncontrollable rage; nor how it would be possible, once violence had resulted, for disputants to become friends again. A serious affront is never forgiven or forgotten.

The "giving of satisfaction" to a person who has been inconvenienced in any way by one's act or omission is an imperative expectation. Otherwise, the person affected will be gravely offended. The lack of consideration which has been shown makes the matter one of "lost face" and lowers self-esteem. Remarkd a villager noted for his culinary skill.

Nero asked me to cook him a *buzada* (dish of tripe). He said he would eat it with me at my house. So, when they butchered Friday, I bought the tripe and cleaned it. He was to be there the next night. But it rained, and I thought he might not come to the village. So I didn't put the seasoning in. I didn't want it to spoil. He was in the village that night, though, and he didn't come up to my house, or send me any word. Early the next morning, when I was on my way to Rio Abaixo to bring back a goat, I met him in the road. I said to him, "How is it that you didn't come to my house last night?" He said, "Get the *buzada* ready today; we will have it tonight." So I went ahead and fixed it. I put in the seasoning, I cooked it, I put it on the table. But he didn't come. This morning, the *buzada* was all spoiled. Then someone told me the fellow had been in the village again last night. That made me mad. To think he had not come around to "give me satisfaction!" This morning, I saw him in Sebastião's store, buying some things. As I went by, he looked around and saw me, but he went right on with his talk. So I turned around and passed the store again to see if he'd come out to "give me satisfaction." But he just kept on with his talk there in the store. So I went up to him and I said, "How is it? You said you'd come up to my house last night and eat *buzada*. I got everything ready and waited for you. And you didn't come." He looked a bit embarrassed and said, "It was raining." "It didn't rain yesterday," I said. Then he said I should prepare another *buzada* for next Sunday and he'd pay for it. The storekeeper spoke up and said, "No, you must pay Quim. He's gone to a lot of trouble and it's only right that you should

pay. Next Sunday, if you want to, you can have another *buzada*." Nego looked around at me. I said to him, "Yes, you pay me now for what it cost me and if you want, I'll fix another for next Sunday." So he rammed his hand down into his pocket, jerked out his pocketbook and gave me a 200 cruzeiro bill. I gave him back 140 cruzeiros and kept the rest.

That's the way it goes. If he'd "given me satisfaction," if he'd come up to the house yesterday and said, "I couldn't come last night because of the rain. How much did it cost you? I'll pay for it and then we'll arrange another *buzada* some other time," I wouldn't have charged him a thing. But since he didn't "give me satisfaction," I charged him plenty.

A limited degree of conflict in the form of a struggle between religious sects, as has been indicated, has appeared in the community in comparatively recent years. The long-standing monopoly of Catholic belief and practice is beginning to be challenged; not yet seriously, but increasingly. The principal competitors are three Protestant sects,<sup>221</sup> although the influence of the Spiritualist cult,<sup>222</sup> with its techniques for treating illness, is also beginning to be felt.

At the *reza* on the Saturday evening which preceded the baptismal ceremony, held in the creek near the village, of which reference was made in the section on *Evangelistas*, the *padre* seriously admonished his parishioners not to attend the ceremony. "This evening," he said, "everyone should send up his prayers with fervor. It is fitting that we should show our great love for God, especially at this time. This offense that is to be committed on the morrow, God in his great mercy will know how to deal. For the kindness of God is infinite. But we who are Catholics and whose fathers were Catholics and whose grandfathers were Catholics, must keep to our religion. We must be persistent and persevere." At the hour appointed for the ceremony, a special Mass was arranged and held in the church. Not all parishioners, however, as has been indicated, remained away from the baptism. "I've never seen anything like this is supposed to be," remarked a villager. "What will it hurt if I go and see what it is like?"

As also has been indicated,<sup>223</sup> the principal form of conflict in the community is the struggle between political factions. The intensity of this

<sup>221</sup> See *Evangelistas*, p. 176.

<sup>222</sup> See *Spiritualism*, p. 182.

<sup>223</sup> See *Political Behavior*, p. 184.



struggle, however, is probably not as great today as formerly. A local resident recalls:

Many years ago, when I was a young man, people were more wild over politics than they are today. There were all sorts of trouble at election time. All the musicians in the village band belonged to the same party. At night they would get together and march out into the street and play, while their friends shot their guns off into the air. The leader of the other party was a man named Jucá. He was a resolute fellow. The day after the band came out for the first time, he went to São Paulo and brought back musical instruments and gave them to persons in his party who also could play and then there were two bands in the village every night, trying to drown each other out. Each party also had its own soccer team. There were fights almost every day. Four *soldados* were stationed in the village then, instead of only one, as there is today. But if they had tried to interfere, they would have gotten into serious trouble. Both parties had lots of followers and the men were all fighters. One night the leader of one party thought his house was going to be attacked. He heard an awful racket. He blew out the lantern and grabbed his gun and waited. But nothing happened that time. There were killings, though. It's a good thing it's not that bad any more.

Strife between political factions probably still is, however, as also has been indicated, the greatest single force making for disunity in the community. At the same time, the old alignments are being broken up by the comparatively recent emergence of new political forces, represented by new political parties. The former clear-cut and relatively permanent division in the community is no longer evident.

At present, factional rivalry does not seem to divide neighbor against neighbor to the point where the ordinarily intimate, personal relations common to the village are significantly disturbed, unless there are also present, in one or more of the disputants, certain psychic or social characteristics which at the same time increase difference and tend to focus attention upon it.

This is the situation in the case of the present leader of the minority party in the community. Many persons think that both he and his wife give evidence of an air of superiority toward their associates which is strongly condemned in the local mores. The man and his wife are both resolute persons who are accused of disparaging most other persons in the community and of seeking to force their will upon them. The resentment this arouses is intensified by the fact that the wife tends to assume a role in local political and other activities which is out of keeping with the accepted

pattern of behavior on the part of a woman. On the occasion of the last election, for instance, she was much criticized for electioneering activities. A village woman remarked:

I and Dona Francisca, the wife of Migner, were great friends until she began to try to force her ideas about politics upon me. That's something I won't permit. And so we quarrel and we fight. Everything I want to do she puts a stop to it if she can, and everything she wants to do I put a stop to if I can. She comes here to the house of my neighbor and begins to say nasty things about me. She knows the walls are thin and I can hear everything she says. That's why she does it. I've just told my neighbor that if she lets that woman keep on insulting me in her house, I'm going to do something about it.

Another woman remarked:

She's a "bone" here in the village. She just makes me sick! One day I heard her shouting out there in the street that her husband was the only man here who had any character. It made me so mad I wanted to go out and fight with her. My husband also has character; hers is not the only one.

The principal source of conflict in this case, however, would seem to lie, not in the fact that the man and his wife are political opponents of most persons in the community, but rather in their failure to seek to maintain primary relations with their associates. The fabric of local society is so tightly woven that all elements must either be assimilated or expelled. There is no middle ground. Mere differences of opinion can be tolerated; unfriendly attitudes, however, are definitely against the mores. (See *Solidarity*, p. 197.) The man in question, although of the same economic and educational level as members of the community, worked for several years as a truck driver and thus had considerable contact with the outside world. He tends to inject into his relations with persons in the community a secondary character which is alien to it and hence difficult to understand; and, since it is difficult to understand, it is feared and resented.

The ambition and concern for money evidenced by this man, both of which characteristics also are alien to the local mores, increase a resentment with reference to him which sometimes is voiced in almost violent terms. "He would squeeze money out of his own mother," a villager remarked. "That fellow is an *embruiado* (shyster)," said another villager. "He doesn't cheat Christ only because Christ has never been here." "Yes," remarked a



third villager, "and he's always thinking he's so much better than everyone else and trying to get ahead of them."

So intense is local feeling toward this man that it almost led to violence on the occasion of the last election. It did lead to violence sometime later. A villager recalled:

Miguer (the man in question) and Chico had a fight day before yesterday. It was a terrible battle. I was there in the *botequin* when Chico's boy came in, crying, and shouting that they were killing his father. It seems Chico was saying nasty things about Miguer there in the store, when suddenly he came in. "Did I hear you say I was a *caloteiro* (one who doesn't pay his debts)?" Miguer shouted. Chico said yes, he'd said that and that it was the truth. So Miguer grabbed him by the shirt and struck him a blow that knocked him down. And when he got up, he gave him another blow and down he went again. Then Miguer piled onto him and began to pound him and pound him. Just then Roque (a brother-in-law of Chico) came in with a club and swung at Miguer. But someone who was standing by had just stepped in to try to separate the fighters and part of the blow fell on his arm. But Miguer got part of it on his head. Then Roque's two brothers came in, swinging clubs. But, by that time, the other people who were standing around had separated the fighters and someone was taking Miguer out of the store and up to his house, while the others were holding Roque and helping Chico up. I'll tell you that if they hadn't stepped in, Miguer would've been dead by now; Roque and his brothers would've finished him with their clubs, right then and there.

The fight immediately became the principal topic of conversation in the village. Small groups of men gathered in the growing darkness to talk in low tones. That this quarrel and violence, however, had more of the character of in-group than of out-group conflict is borne out by the comment of two villagers, both of whom are opposed, politically, to Miguel. "I'm glad Chico got it," said one. He's no good, either. I don't like Miguer, but he's a better man than Chico. He takes care of his own life and doesn't go around looking for trouble." "So far as I'm concerned," said another villager, "they should not have stopped the fight. If they'd done away with each other, it would have been a good riddance for the village."

Conflict with undesirable or unassimilable persons from the outside is considered in the following section.

### SOLIDARITY

The local society is strong and vigorous, capable alike of the ready assimilation of desirable new ele-

ments as well as the positive and uncompromising expulsion of undesirable new elements. The number of incoming migrants, as has been indicated, is small, a fact which facilitates their incorporation into the local society and diminishes the change which they might bring. At the same time, so tenacious is the social organism that it might be expected to incorporate into itself a considerable number of new elements without suffering appreciable alteration.

Whether the new element will be assimilated or cast out depends upon the attitudes and social and personal characteristics of the newcomer. Local inhabitants are self-respecting; they are proud of their village and community. If the newcomer gives positive evidence that he likes the people among whom he has come to live, and if it is also clear that he possesses the personal characteristics which are encouraged in the community, such as friendliness, modesty, willingness to oblige, and conformity to the local mores, he is apt to be readily accepted. If, on the other hand, he indicates by act, speech, or other gesture that he holds any unfavorable attitude toward the people among whom he has come to live, or if he is lacking in those personal characteristics which are considered imperative, the organism, as it were, will contract and leave him isolated on the outside. If this disparagement of local residents and community be pronounced or continued over a considerable period of time, he may find himself not only under the negative sanctions of social disapproval but actually expelled physically. To disapproval, dislike, and condemnation may be added violence. It would seem that the adhesion of the parts of the social organism is so great and the primary relations which occasion it are so intimate and demanding that there can be no middle ground: either the new element is absorbed or it is expelled.

These general statements are borne out by what happened, on the one hand, to the *soldados* Vicente and Gilberto, "the pharmacist" and "the Rio-grandense;" and, on the other hand, to the school teacher Anita and the Japanese storekeeper and his family.

The *soldado* Vicente was a young, unmarried man from Ceará. He had been assigned to the village in keeping with the customary practice of the State Government to put a police officer at the



disposal of the local *sub-delegado* to aid in enforcing the law. Vicente was inexperienced, brash, filled with self-importance, and indiscreet. He was soon heard to speak slightly of persons in the village and of the village itself. These remarks were almost immediately known to everyone in the community. But they were passed over in silence. Attitudes of disapproval and dislike, however, immediately formed against him. These attitudes first made themselves evident in the difficulty he encountered in finding someone in the village to wash his clothes, in spite of the fact that work of this sort usually is readily accepted, since several widows are in need of increasing their meager incomes. And, although he needed someone to prepare his meals, since there is no hotel or pension in the village, no one seemed to be willing to do so. He eventually discovered also that when he purchased fruit or similar items of a villager, he had to pay much more than is customary in the community. In other words, the local society, as it were, was closing up against him.

The *soldado* Vicente had been in the village a few weeks when, one night, he was talking to a village storekeeper and leader, in the presence of a mutual acquaintance. The conversation had to do with prices in comparison with those of former times, the attempts of the Government to control production and the difficulties of transport. An undercurrent of antagonism was soon apparent. From time to time, Vicente revealed, in some remark, his dislike for the village and villagers. It was not long before whatever one came to say, the other contradicted. Then Vicente remarked, "The soil of northern Brazil is rich but it doesn't do any good to gather the crops or to plant new ones because they just pile up. There's no way to move them to market." And he added, "Here in this community, there's plenty of transport but the Paulistas<sup>24</sup> are *vagabundos* (good-for-nothings); if it wasn't for the Italians and the Japanese who've settled in this State, it would be worse off than Ceará." The face of the storekeeper became livid with rage. Coldly and deliberately, with a great show of restrained emotion, he said, "For me, there is no greater *vagabundo* than a *soldado* and if it's so good there in the North, what are you

doing here? Why, you — (using a vigorous and obscene expletive)! Go back to Ceará! No one asked you to come to this village!" Rising from the table and beating on his chest, he added, in increasingly strident tones, unconsciously and quite revealingly dropping into the formal and rarely used mode of address, "I, Sebastião, will put thee out of here myself." The situation became charged with deadly menace as the *soldado* fingered his revolver. The third person present then said, "Seu Vicente, you should not speak ill of the village here because the people love this place like you love Ceará." "But I was only kidding," said Vicente, "and Seu Sebastião got all excited."

"And I'll always get excited," replied the storekeeper, "whenever I hear anything like that. I live here. My parents and my grandparents lived here. We have struggled here and we have suffered here, but we have never complained of this place. And now a mere *soldado*, who doesn't do anything but loaf around all day, who spends all his time playing cards, comes here from Ceará and speaks ill of us. Get out! No one asked you to come here!" And the storekeeper left the room.

The following day was Sunday. Vicente came to Sebastião's store and, as the latter said later, "talked as if nothing had happened." "For me," he added, "that incident was a serious thing. I'll never treat that fellow the same way again. All of us here are tired of him, and now he knows it." A little later that day, the *soldado* left the village in a truck which happened to be going over to a neighboring town. With him was his rifle, pack, and the few household goods he possessed. He has not been seen in the village since.

When he was told that Vicente had left, an elderly villager remarked, "That fellow! The very first day he was here, I was standing in front of the *botequim* talking and some young men about half drunk were galloping their horses up and down the village streets. I was saying that they ought not to be allowed to do that; that the village was no race track and that the first thing you'd know, someone would get hurt. The *soldado* heard me and do you know what he said? 'So far as I'm concerned, all these people here can be run over. An atomic bomb can fall on them, and it'd be the same to me. The only thing I want to see is that no one gives me any trouble

<sup>24</sup> Persons native to the State of São Paulo.



there at the jail.' Can you imagine that? A man who earns his living keeping the peace comes to a village like ours and he talks like that, making light of everything and everyone and then not doing his duty when it's pointed out to him." "Yes, he was no good," another villager agreed. "We once had a *soldado* sent here," he added, "who liked it so well, he spent his whole life in the village."

The *soldado* Gilberto succeeded Vicente. He brought with him to the village his wife and seven children. He was a modest and unassuming man and as such quite acceptable to the villagers. He and his family, however, were Protestants in an almost entirely Catholic community. They had formerly lived in the city of São Paulo and felt out of place in the village. The *soldado* was once heard to remark that he had never seen "*so caipira*"<sup>24</sup> a people. The family remained somewhat aloof from their neighbors. They participated in none of the customary public gatherings, either religious or secular. They felt unaccepted and increasingly ill at ease. Although in no way actually repelled or even threatened with expulsion, as was the *soldado* Vicente, Gilberto, after a few months in the village, sought and obtained a transfer to a post in another community.

The man whom villagers refer to as "the pharmacist," came to the village with a small supply of drugs and patent medicines. A villager recalled:

He lived right next door to me in Nhã Benta's house. No one liked him. He went around acting so superior. He was a rude fellow and full of complaints about everything. Once he wanted to borrow some sugar of me; I was glad to let him have it. The sugar was coarse but it was all I had, and it was good. A few days later he sent some sugar in return; it was "sugar of the first quality." "That's the way it is!" he said. "Here in the village, people lend you common, ordinary things and then you have to pay them back with first-grade stuff. He was always saying nasty things like that. He didn't know what every *caipira* knows: that to keep people from disliking you, you must learn to get along with them. He ended up by leaving here.

Renato came to the village from Rio Grande do Norte. He was soon known and referred to in the community as "the Riograndense." When he had been in the village a few months, he was attending, one day, a religious festival. Geraldo, a young

man in the village, considerably under the influence of *pinga*, had purchased a small trinket of a traveling peddler and had refused to pay for it. The peddler was from the northern State of Pernambuco. Renato, feeling an affinity with the peddler by reason of the fact that he also was from a northern State, intervened in the matter. At the time, he also was considerably under the influence of *pinga*. Grasping the shirt of the young man, he began to shake him and to demand that he pay. A fight resulted and several blows were exchanged, in the course of which the shirt was torn. The disputants were soon separated by bystanders. Renato, however, continued his comments in a loud voice. At this point the *soldado* came up and inquired what was going on. One of the bystanders undertook to inform him. He said that "the Riograndense" had torn the shirt of the young man, and that he could not expect to make him pay for the trinket by using such methods. Whereupon Renato turned to the bystander and shouted in a loud voice, "You are not my friends. Not a single one of you in this accursed place. You listen only to Gerardo because he's one of you." The bystander did not at first reply. As Renato continued his remarks, however, he finally turned and, in a cold voice, with deadly intent, said, "I have no fear of any man like you; we'll settle this matter." The *sub-delegado*, however, who meanwhile had been informed of what was occurring, arrived at that moment, and he and the *soldado* separated the contenders and put an end to the quarrel.

After Renato had left, bystanders recalled other instances in which, as they said, "the Riograndense had shown disrespect for persons in the village." Meanwhile, Renato was saying that he would leave the community; that he "wouldn't stay in a place where he had no friends and no one liked him." Arming himself with a *garrucha*, he went about his affairs in the village in a belligerent mood. Two days later, he left the community. A villager was heard to remark, "*E já foi tarde* (He stayed too long as it was)."

Of quite different character, however, were the experiences of the school teacher Anita and the Japanese storekeeper. The school teacher came to the village 15 years ago. She was pleasant in manner, friendly and tactful. Although her schooling had been more extensive than that of

<sup>24</sup> See *Caipira versus Cidade*, p. 107.



anyone in the community, she was modest and unassuming. Some time later, she married a local young man. At present, she is not only considered by villagers to be one of themselves but is also a village leader. (See *Leadership*, p. 207.) She has been completely assimilated. Her attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs are closely identified with those of the community.

The Japanese storekeeper, with his wife, moved to the village 13 years ago. Their five children have since been born there. Both he and his wife have always been considered by local inhabitants to be modest, unassuming, and friendly persons. They were soon made to feel so welcome that when a few years later, other families of Japanese who had migrated to the community moved away, they remained in the village. They now speak the *caipira* dialect, although, with the exception of the children, it is with a Japanese accent. They attend Mass in the village church, join in the processions, and otherwise take part in all religious activities. The children of school age attend the village school. The husband and father participates in local politics, supporting the majority group actively and effectively. He recently contributed part of the money to open the bus line referred to elsewhere. (See *Transportation*, p. 95, and *Isolation and Contact*, p. 104.) And, perhaps most significantly of all, he is now a *compadre* to 34 persons in the community.

#### STATUS AND PRESTIGE

Age is a definite determinant of status. Older persons tend to have more prestige than younger. Parents tend to have greater prestige than children, even if the latter are grown. On those farms where three generations are living together, the grandfather occupies a superior position as head of the family, with more prestige than any other member. The status of the grandmother is also superior to that of any other woman. Older persons are often heard giving advice, in tones of positive conviction, addressing every younger person present, even adults, as if they were children. Invariably they are listened to with attention and respect. To interrupt them would be considered extremely "poor form." When addressing an elderly person, one ordinarily prefaces the name with the term *Nhô* or *Nhá*, a cus-

tom which probably is a heritage of the slave epoch when the master was known as *Sinhô* (from *Senhor, master*) and the mistress as *Sinhá* (from *Senhora, mistress*).

The significant role of age in determining status is probably due to the fact that in a community which long was nonliterate, and still is to a considerable extent, the personal knowledge and skills accumulated through years of experience are of vital importance in everyday living.

It is doubtful if the terms "class" and "caste" are useful in analyzing the local society. Differences in prestige exist within the community, but they are defined in each case by age, sex, or individual variations. They are to be found within families. Moreover, the persons who possess most prestige in the community do not think of themselves as belonging to a group apart from other persons.

The son is not compelled to follow the same employment as his father. In other words, there is no inheritance of occupational function and no fixed form of occupational status into which the individual is born and out of which he cannot pass during his lifetime. The order is a mobile order, in which the individual is free to move from one occupational role and position to another.

At the same time, actual mobility with reference to occupational roles is minimal. As has been indicated, occupational variations in the community are extremely limited. Almost all the inhabitants work the land. There are few sons who do not follow the same employment as their fathers. To do otherwise almost always requires that one leave the community. Most of the limited number of men who at present are engaged in preparations for quarrying, also occasionally work on farms. The only other persons who were born in the community and who are not at present engaged in the same occupation as their fathers, are the three storekeepers; the owners of the two *botequins*; the *sub-delegado* who also is one of the two local carpenters; the village horseshoer, who also works at barbering and shoe repairing; the tax collector; the *fiscal*; and the registrar of vital statistics. Of these 10 persons, however, 7 themselves own farm land, the cultivation of which they oversee and on which they themselves occasionally work.

There is, however, inheritance of function as between the sexes, not only in the obviously biological sense but also, as indicated in detail else-



where,<sup>226</sup> in the sociological sense. The roles of men and women are separate and distinct. That which a man can, and is expected to do, and that which a woman can, and is expected to do, are clearly defined. The distinction becomes apparent early in life and subsequently rarely changes. The social order in this respect is relatively fixed and immutable. Only four women in the community are at present exercising roles which are different in kind from that of their mothers: the postmistress, the school teacher, the principal midwife, and the wife of the leader of one of the local political factions. All of the four women, however, exercise these roles only in addition to the usual function of wife and mother. The school teacher, the postmistress, and the midwife have gained prestige in their new roles. The activities of the wife of the political leader, however, which are carried on apart from her role as wife and mother appear more to be tolerated than accepted, and consequently are lacking in prestige value.

This difference in function makes the sexes interdependent and consequently is a unifying rather than a divisive force in the community. So extensive is this interdependence that, should a young husband die, the widow, unless in due time she marries again or unless she is aided by her own or her husband's family, may suffer privation. The dependence of the man upon the wife is especially evident in the case of a widower, particularly if he has small children. Without the assistance of his own or his wife's mother, a sister, or a second wife, it is extremely difficult for him to care for his children. These diverse activities of husband and wife are complementary and thus readily organized into *consorted* activities. Individual behavior thus tends to become consorted behavior inside the family and the unit to take on the characteristics of a small society.

As previously indicated in detail, these differences in function are accompanied by differences in status. The position of woman is definitely inferior to that of man, a condition which attaches to the girl even before birth—boy babies are preferred to girl babies—and continues throughout life.

The prestige of a given individual may be increased by the specific role he plays in the com-

munity to the exclusion of everyone, or almost everyone, else. The holding of certain offices, for instance, automatically enhances the prestige of the individual. Greatest prestige probably attaches to the offices of *padre* and those of local officials, especially the *sub-prefeito*, the *sub-delegado* and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the *fiscal*, the village registrar of vital statistics, and the tax collector; prestige being enhanced or decreased, in the case of an official, by the degree of success in obtaining the satisfaction of local needs by way of influencing governmental functionaries outside the community. The mail carrier, by reason of his appointment as a permanent employee of the Government, also has considerable prestige. Other local functions, like that of the village bell ringer, the *fogueteiro* who handles the fireworks at *festas*, the auctioneer of *prendas*, and the members of the village band, carry considerable prestige, as also do those of the school teacher, the principal midwife, the *curandeiros*, and the "blessers." The more the individual who is exercising a given role corresponds to the expectations associated with that role, the higher the prestige he himself enjoys; and the less he corresponds to these expectations, the lower the prestige. The length of time a role is satisfactorily exercised is another determinant of status.

The title of *doutor*, long used in Brazil to refer to a person who has graduated from a professional school of law, medicine, or engineering, carries locally, as elsewhere in Brazil, considerable prestige. No one in the community, however, is addressed in this way. In the immediate family of the school teacher, who came to the village 15 years ago and who, as indicated, has been extensively assimilated into its life, there are graduates of a law school, a fact which, although these persons live elsewhere, tends to raise her prestige in the community. Proudly she says, "*Meus irmãos são doutores* (my brothers are 'doctors')."

Although the possession of land and other property increases prestige, it is not in itself sufficient to give the individual superior status. As indicated elsewhere, there are living in the community at present no *fazendeiros*, or large landowners who oversee but do not themselves work their land, similar to those to be found in many areas of Brazil as also in this community in the past. Two farmers would seem to be in process of becoming

<sup>226</sup> See *Relations between the Sexes*, p. 132, and *Role and Status of Woman*, p. 134.



*fazendeiros* but neither yet possesses the requisite characteristics to give him the status which ordinarily accrues to that position. A few scions of families which once belonged to this class are still to be found in the village and surrounding area, but they live near the bare subsistence level and their position in the community in no way is superior to that of other residents.

Regret for the reduced status of a family which once belonged to the *fazendeiro* class is apparent in the following remarks of a descendant of one of these families:

I should have done better in life. Our family wasn't like these *caipiras* around here. They were *gente fina* (refined people). I was once in school; but then I had to go to work with a hoe and I forgot everything. I can't even write now. The old gentleman, my uncle, he was a *man*! You won't find another person like him. He was full of courage. He was intelligent like no one else and as strong as an ox. He lived to be 90 years old, and when he died he still had two rows of good teeth. He learned many things from his father. My uncle was the *chefe*<sup>107</sup> around here, the biggest *fazendeiro* anywhere about. If this place needed something from the politicians, he went to São Paulo and got it. He was once the president of the *Assembléia* (state legislature). The men there all had great respect for him. They were men whose goatees were white;<sup>108</sup> they knew what they were doing. My uncle had all kinds of fine clothes, a cutaway, a top hat, everything. When he needed to, he'd put on clothes with the best of them. But he was a modest man and went about his farm dressed like everybody else. He finally lost everything he had, though, and when he died all of us were left with nothing. No one today has influence like he had. No one here does anything like he did.

There is little or no difference, so far as status is concerned, between villagers and the inhabitants of the surrounding area. In the village, the concentration of houses obviously is greater and contacts between individuals consequently are increased in number and intensity. A villager is thus in perhaps a more advantageous position to develop that *modo de tratá os outro* (way of getting along with other persons) which is so admired in the community. Villagers ordinarily are less shy and reserved. Persons with as high a degree of prestige as any villager, however, are to be found among local farmers.

Prestige attaches to the *brasileiro* (Brazilian); foreigners of whatever origin tend to occupy a position somewhat below that of the native-born.

This condition, however, is effectively modified by primary contacts and, in the event of marriage into a local family, by familial relations, as well as the personal characteristics of the individual. There is also a readiness to accept all children born in Brazil, of whatever parentage, on equal terms with other Brazilians. In this connection, a common statement is "*Ele é brasileiro, não é?*" (He is a Brazilian, isn't he?)

Status is little, if at all, determined by either race or color. Among village leaders are persons whose skin is quite dark and whose other physical characteristics give indisputable evidence of Indian or African ancestry. There are no pure, or relatively pure, Negroes among village leaders, but this is probably due, at least in large part, to the fact that there are at present no blacks in the community whose personal characteristics are sufficiently superior to those of others to make them leaders. Memories of two Negroes, now deceased, who appear to have once enjoyed a high degree of prestige in the village, are still vivid. The present *leiloeiro*<sup>109</sup> and one of the *capelães*<sup>110</sup> are blacks, each of whom is extensively admired and enjoys a considerable measure of prestige. Of the *capelão*, a village leader, a white man, remarked:

There is *um homo bôo* (a good man)! He's a hard worker. He's good to his wife and his children. He's poor but he always manages to get together enough money to keep from owing anyone. He goes to Mass. What he says you can depend upon. Every word that comes out of his mouth is always the truth. There is a good man! If everyone was like him, the world would be a much better world.

A primary determinant of status in the community are the personal characteristics of the individual. The characteristics most admired are modesty, sincerity, willingness to work hard, and consideration for other people. The possession of one or more of these characteristics increases prestige; its lack decreases prestige. To "consider oneself superior to others," for example, definitely lowers a person in the estimation of his fellows. It is the greatest defect a local inhabitant can possess.

In the case of a man, to be a "good hunter" or "good at fishing" increases prestige. Speaking of an individual who is widely respected and admired, a village official remarked, with a consid-

<sup>107</sup> Augmentative of *chefe* (leader).

<sup>108</sup> That is, whose age implied wide experience and, consequently, commanded respect.

<sup>109</sup> See Division of Labor, p. 58.

<sup>110</sup> See Sacred Functionaries, p. 146.



erable show of approval, "He's the 'chief' among the hunters here; of all of them, he's the best." To spend all one's time hunting or fishing, however, is frowned upon. One hears in this respect the phrases, *só vive pescando* (he spends all his time fishing) and *tá sempre bateno no mato atrás de caça* (he's always in the timber running after game).

Perhaps nine persons in the community have greater prestige than their associates. All are men. The characteristics which, in each case, determine superior status were indicated by persons intimately acquainted with the community to be as follows:

*Individual 1.*—Age, descent from a family long in the community, superior intelligence, competence shown as a village storekeeper and former local official, ability to use wit and humor in personal contacts, an economic condition above the average in the community.

*Individual 2.*—Age, superior intelligence, membership in a family prominent in the community, competence shown as a village official and local political leader, conversational ability, initiative in supervising road building and in developing a bus line.

*Individual 3.*—Age, reputation as a "hard worker," competence shown improving a farm.

*Individual 4.*—Age, an especially pleasant and friendly manner, conversational ability, competence shown as village official and in developing a farm.

*Individual 5.*—Age, superior intelligence, conversational ability, competence shown as a local official and political leader.

*Individual 6.*—Position as village padre and local representative of the traditionally respected ecclesiastical authority, superior education.

*Individual 7.*—Reputation as a "hard worker," competence shown as a former village official and present local political leader, facility of verbal expression, "connections" with political figures in São Paulo, knowledge of the world outside the community, ability demonstrated as resident administrator of a local *fazenda*.

*Individual 8.*—Descent from a family long in the community; competence shown as a village official, as a hunter, and as a prescriber of drugs in cases of illness; constant good humor; ability in conversation and joking.

*Individual 9.*—Competence shown as a former village official and present local political leader, facility of verbal expression, ability demonstrated in building and supervising a mill for grinding maize, an economic condition above the average.

With reference to 14 other persons, whose status in the community is perhaps only slightly less, the characteristics which appear to have increased prestige include age, male sex, membership in a prestige-bearing family, the holding of an office, the ownership of land, occupational competence,

special ability (shown, for example, as village bell ringer, *capelão*, auctioneer of *prendas*; in playing the *violão* or one of the instruments in the band; preparing foods; making baskets, fireworks, and pottery; playing cards or soccer; preparing for a *feita* and leading portions of it like the dances which are dedicated to São Gonçalo); and certain personal characteristics, such as superior intelligence, self-confidence and ability demonstrated in conversation, in developing and maintaining primary relations, in accommodating oneself to variant situations and in "playing politics."

To the above-mentioned characteristics, however, there must be added in the case of each individual who would enjoy superior prestige, certain other characteristics which are considered indispensable in every person. Among these basic requirements are modesty, sincerity, a willingness to work, friendliness, pleasantness of manner, hospitableness, a readiness to oblige, loyalty, tolerance and (in the case of a married man) competence in providing for one's family.

If, on the other hand, one analyzes cases of individuals with inferior status in the community, the characteristics which especially make for lowered prestige would seem to be youth, female sex, aversion to hard work, occupational incompetence, inability to get on with other persons, low status of the family of which the individual is a part, inferior intelligence, failure to marry (in the case of a woman), foreign origin, excessive use of alcoholic liquors, destitute economic condition, in addition to the lack of one or more of those characteristics which are considered essential in the case of every individual.

In the conversation of local inhabitants, one often notes phrases which tend to define the sources of prestige, or lack of prestige, in a given individual. Included among these phrases are the following:

#### Age

Ele é home de idade, de juízo

(He's a man of years and judgment)

Ele tem experiência

(He's a man of experience)

Com cinquenta anos já tem mais pensamento

(By the time a person is fifty years old, he has more judgment)

É ainda muito moço

(He is still very young)



*Family Affiliation*

- Ele é dos Barreto  
(He's one of the Barretos)  
A família dele não presta  
(His family is no good)  
Ele é de boa gente  
(He comes from a good family)

*Sex*

- Quem canta é o galo  
(It's the rooster that crows)  
Mulie não dá pra isso  
(A woman is no good for that)  
Mulie não tem cabeça pra isso  
(A woman doesn't have a head for that)  
Uma mulie de ouro não vale um homem de barro  
(A woman of gold isn't worth a man of clay)

*Occupational or Other Competence*

- É homem que sabe lidar com a terra  
(He's a man who really knows how to farm)  
Ele sabe cuidar da lavoura, sabe fazer tudo  
(He knows how to do everything on the farm)  
Ele tem influência na política  
(He has political influence)  
De cesta, ele faz o que quer  
(Of baskets, he can make whatever he wants to)  
Ele trabalha com a taquara que é uma beleza  
(He does beautiful work with *taquara*)  
Ela faz qualquer coisa com barro  
(She can make anything of clay)  
Ele entende de música  
(He knows music)  
Ele às vezes quase puxa uma varinha no sino  
(At times he almost plays a waltz on the bells)  
Até de fora mandam buscar ele pra tocar  
(Even people from other places send for him to play for them)  
Ele é pescador de mão cheia  
(He's a fisherman "with full hands"; that is, he's an able fisherman)  
No mato, ele vale mais do que um cachorro  
(In the woods, he's worth more than a dog; that is, he's a good hunter)  
Ele cozinha melhor do que qualquer mulie  
(He cooks better than any woman)  
Nem há o que ele não saiba fazer  
(There's nothing he doesn't know how to do)

*Economic Condition*

- Nasceu pelado e agora tá vestido  
(He was born naked and now he's dressed up; that is, he was born poor and has improved his lot)  
Ele é homem de posse  
(He's a man of means)  
Ele é meio arrumado  
(He's rather well off)  
Ele mora em baixo do chapéu  
(He lives under his hat)

- Ele não tem um gato pra puxar pelo rabo  
(He hasn't even a cat whose tail he can pull)  
Ele é um pé rapado  
(He's a scraped foot; that is, he owns nothing)

*Personal Characteristics*

- Ele sabe lidar com a gente  
(He knows how to get along with people)  
Ele é muito dado  
(He makes friends easily)  
Ele é muito trabalhado  
(He's a hard worker)  
Ele é de boa cabeça  
(He has a good head)  
É homem que vê longe  
(He's a man who can see a long way ahead)  
Ele é capira subido  
(He's a smart *capira*)  
Ele sabe entrar e sair em qualquer lugar  
(He knows his way around)  
Ele é capira viajado  
(He's a *capira* who has been around)  
Ele sabe falar  
(He's a good talker)  
É homem muito sério  
(He's an upright man)  
Ele é muito alegre  
(He's always in a good humor)  
Ele tá sempre brincando e rindo com a gente  
(He's always joking and laughing with you)  
Ele não bebe, não tem vício nenhum  
(He does not drink; he has no bad habits)  
É mulie muito distinta  
(She's a very fine woman)  
É mulie bem educada, de muito préstimo  
(She's a woman who has been well brought up; she knows how to do everything)  
Ela é uma moça de muito respeito  
(She's a girl who is worthy of respect)  
Ela é muito boa, trata todos muito bem  
(She's a good woman; she treats everyone well)  
Tem gente que é soberbo  
(Some people are "stuck-up")  
Só por pô uma gravatinha no pescoço, não enxerga mais a gente  
(Just because he put a tie around his neck, he can no longer see a person)  
Quando chegou aqui, tava com a carga furada; hoje não cumprimenta a gente mais  
(When he came here, his trousers had holes in them; today, he no longer speaks to you)  
Ela é charreta, que toma conta de tudo  
(She keeps sticking her nose in everywhere; she wants to "boss" everything)  
Ele vive com uma mão adiante e outra atrás  
(He lives with one hand in front and the other behind; that is, he is a loafer)  
Ele não enxerga um palmo adiante do nariz  
(He can't see an inch in front of his face; that is, he's stupid)



Ele nem fala sabe

(He doesn't even know how to talk)

Homem que hoje diz uma coisa e amanhã outra, num serve; precisa um que diz pedra é pedra

(A man who says one thing today and another tomorrow, will not do; what is needed is a man who, when he says it is a rock, you know it really is a rock)

Ela tem cabeça dura

(She has a thick head)

Ele é muito estúpido

(He's very stupid)

Ele é burro

(He's an ass)

Ele é bobo

(He's a fool)

O estado normal dele é bebido

(His normal condition is to be drunk)

É um pau d'água

(He's a soaked leg; that is, a "soak")

Ele é brigaço

(He's always picking a fight)

Ele é vagabundo

(He's good for nothing)

Ela é uma mãe falada

(She's a woman that people talk about)

É mulé sem brio, sem vergonha na cara

(She's a woman without shame)

Differences in status, with the exception of those due to age or sex, are not readily revealed in the course of the daily life of the community. In fact, merely casual observation might give the impression that, with these exceptions, the different members of the community occupy identical social positions. Persons of inferior status tend to be treated with a courtesy and consideration which belie their actual position. Differences in status are revealed not so much in direct behavior as in attitudes which are casually revealed, usually when the individual in question is not present. This fact is illustrated in the following incident. A group of men at a village store was joined by a man called Tico. Upon entering the store, he spoke to all present and was cordially spoken to in return. Barefoot, ragged, dirty, and with his eyes bleary from the effects of alcohol, he leaned up against the counter and asked for *pinga*. He was served by the owner of the store just as anyone else would have been served. "Como vai a vida lá pelo sitio?" (How does it go there on the farm?) the storekeeper asked, in the same tone of voice he uses to speak to a close friend. "So-so," was the reply. Tico remained a while in the store, listening to the conversation which continued as before. Finally, he said, "Tá bom,

vô indo, té logo pra meceis (Well, I'll be going. Goodbye to you gentlemen," and left the store. "Té logo!" called after him each person who was present, in a courteous tone of voice. Following a moment of silence, however, the storekeeper remarked, "That fellow is ruining himself with *pinga*. He sold a patch of timber some time ago and got nine *contos* for it. I'll bet he hardly has anything left." "He never was much good," said a bystander. "And when he got all that money, it was the worst thing that could have happened to him."

#### LEADERSHIP

Leadership in the community is exercised in hunting and fishing activities, in the *rezas*, Masses, processions and other religious ceremonies, in planning and carrying through *festas*, in the formation of public opinion, especially in connection with political activities, and during personal, family, or community crises. In a special sense it was recently exercised in the development and carrying through of plans to establish the local bus line, referred to elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

Leadership is to some extent a function of official position; but it is more often, and to a much greater extent, a function of personal competence. Although a few individuals are expected, by reason of the offices which they hold, to develop initiative in specific situations, the leadership which they effectively exercise, like the leadership of other persons who hold no office, is primarily due to their own psychic and social competence. The essential characteristics in this connection would appear to be modesty and a pleasant manner, combined with positiveness of conviction and forcefulness in expressing it; a willingness to initiate action, tempered by tolerance and tact. In a community where a considerable portion of the population is illiterate, the effectiveness of a leader is also increased by his being able to read and write.

The *sub-delegado*, the former *sub-prefeito*, and the *fiscal*, who at present is acting as *sub-prefeito* until someone is named to the position, are perhaps the principal initiators of local action, partially by reason of the official positions which they hold, or have recently held, but more especially by reason of their individual abilities. Each is lit-

<sup>21</sup> See *Isolation and Contact*, p. 104.



orate. Each is noted for the vigor of his thought, speech, and action. Together with one of the storekeepers, they are perhaps the principal leaders of the community.

The storekeeper is a *cafuso*, 59 years of age. He is noted for his modesty, pleasant manner, shrewdness and "common sense," as well as his interest in the village and its welfare. His wit and humor add to his conversational ability and to his effectiveness in "getting along with others." He is considerate of those farmers and villagers who need credit to make purchases at the store until the new crop is harvested. His opinions are widely respected in the community.

The *sub-delegado* formerly was a farmer. He is 52 years of age, courteous, and modest. He has an active mind. His opinions are held with positive conviction and, on occasion, are clearly and forcefully expressed. In those relatively few cases in which he has had to act as the village peace officer, he has been firm but patient and considerate. He recently assumed the initiative in developing and carrying through plans to establish the local bus line. He is an effective political leader whose advice is sought and followed by many persons in the community. Greatly elated, after winning, recently, by an overwhelming vote, a spirited election, he exclaimed, "Ê-ê-ê! Did our horse run well! But I had this election right in my hand. Everybody trusts me. I'm a man of one word only,<sup>222</sup> and they all know it."

The former *sub-prefeito* is a competent and industrious farmer, 46 years of age, whose initiative in establishing a mill, run by water power, has furnished his neighbors a ready and relatively cheap means of grinding their maize. His opinions are held with positive conviction and are always stated in a forceful manner. He is quite effective politically. The *fiscal*, who is at present acting as *sub-prefeito*, is 41 years of age. He is diligent in discharging the obligations of his office, pleasant in manner and tactful. He is noted for his conversational ability, especially in recounting tales. He is always neat in appearance and is probably the best-dressed man in the community. At the same time, he is a leader in both hunting and fishing activities. When someone is bitten by a poisonous snake or insect, he admin-

isters injections of serum. On occasion, he also sends the pharmacist in Boa Vista descriptions of the symptoms of someone who is ill and receives and administers the drugs which are prescribed.

Other men in the community contribute, to a lesser degree, in the formation and maintenance of public opinion. The tax collector is 60 years of age and a competent official. He is shrewd, pleasant in manner, and gets on well with other people. He is a leader in fishing activities. He is given to forceful speech and exercises considerable influence politically. The village registrar is 57 years of age, competent, reflective, quiet, and retiring. He is courteous and effectively disseminates his opinions by way of suggestion rather than of positive statement. Another villager, 62 years old, is noted for his shrewdness, dependability, and fund of practical knowledge. He is effective in developing public opinion. He is also a leader of fishing activities. The administrator of the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village also exercises a certain measure of influence. He is noted for the vigor of his thought, speech, and action. He assumes an active role at religious *festas* and always walks near the front in processions. He aspires to be a political leader. Some years ago, he was the *sub-delegado* in the village. He is ambitious and somewhat lacking in tact in disseminating his opinions, and these characteristics, together with the air of superiority which he tends to assume in the presence of his associates, are resented by many persons, and his effectiveness as a leader is thereby measurably decreased.

Perhaps four men exercise the principal leadership in hunting activities and four in fishing activities. In two cases, the men are the same in both groups. These two men are also included among the leaders mentioned above, as are the other two leaders of fishing activities. One of two other leaders of hunting activities is a young married man in the village and the other is a farmer.

By reason of his office, the present *padre* assumes leadership in carrying out the rituals of the *reza* and the Mass, as well as the rituals connected with religious *festas*, especially the processions, and the *romarias*. His youth and shyness, however, and lack of vigor in speech and action, reduce his effectiveness otherwise as a

<sup>222</sup> That is, constant and dependable.



leader, particularly in comparison with his predecessor.

As has been indicated, no *fazendeiro* lives at present in the community. Quite vivid in the memories of the local inhabitants, however, is the leadership of a *fazendeiro*, now deceased. In a prominent position on the wall of the building where village officials discharge their obligations, is a photograph of this former leader. It shows an elderly man, with a white beard and a bearing which suggests self-confidence and authority. He is spoken of with admiration. "He was absolutely fearless," said a village official. "A man of great courage! He thought nothing of setting out on the road, no matter what the hour, day or night, and alone at that. He was a great man and a powerful leader here in the village."

A few women exercise some degree of leadership in the community, their influence extending at times not only among their own sex but, to some extent at least, among the men as well. One is the school teacher who first came to the village 15 years ago as a young girl and some years later married a local man. As has been indicated, she is now completely assimilated and is an integral part of the community. She is affable and competent and regularly assumes a certain degree of initiative in the direction of the village school, as well as at religious *festas*. Young girls, especially from the less advantaged families, often come to her at the time of their weddings, to be dressed for the occasion and to receive advice on procedure. She is probably the most mobile woman in the village. Once a month she attends a meeting of teachers in the nearby town of Boa Vista and occasionally she visits her family in São Paulo. Although she has more schooling than any other local person, she is modest and unassuming. Her opinions, which are usually expressed with clarity, are listened to with considerable respect. The principal midwife in the community is 63 years old. She is energetic and forceful in speech and action. Called in at crises of childbirth, she assumes initiative, often giving instructions even to the man and head of the household. Especially if the life of either mother or child is imperiled, her advice is eagerly sought and attended to. She is famed for her success in effectively meeting several serious crises. She is also admired for her willingness to set out alone

on the road at any time, day or night, and in spite of rain and flood.

The wife of the *fiscal* who at present acts as *sub-prefeito*, is the daughter of a prominent farmer. She visits about the village as much as, if not more than, any other woman. Her contribution to the formation of opinion, especially among the women, is effective and continuous. She is well-liked for her modesty, sincerity, and pleasant manner. At the same time, she is straight-forward and forceful in expressing opinions. The wife of the administrator of the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village assumes initiative at religious ceremonies, especially at the *rezas* and in preparations for the processions. She is vigorous in thought, speech, and action. She is noted for her advice and other aid at time of illness. In association with her husband, she seeks to play a role in political activities which is not in keeping with local patterns of behavior and is severely censured on this point by a number of persons in the community. A somewhat overbearing manner in exercising initiative is also resented by many local residents, and consequently her influence on public opinion is limited. An elderly mulatto woman gets about the village a good deal and knows everyone and his affairs intimately. Her mind is alert and her speech forceful. She is frank, but also tactful, in stating opinions. She is admired and listened to by reason of her extensive fund of practical knowledge and "common sense." She definitely contributes to the formation and maintenance of public opinion, especially among the women. Among all those so far mentioned, both men and women, she alone is not literate.

A few other women exercise leadership in a more restricted way. One is a widow, 70 years of age, who annually arranges to have a *mastro* set up at her house, where she subsequently gives a *feita* for São João.<sup>222</sup> An elderly Negro woman who lives on a farm about a mile from the village is often asked to assume initiative in "blessing," upon the occasion of illness, a person or domestic animal, employing prayers and certain gestures presumed to have magical power. She also acts at times as a midwife. Her competence, dependability, calm demeanor, and sage advice have earned her considerable respect and admiration.

<sup>222</sup> See *Religious Festas*, p. 162.



## SOCIAL CONTROL

The behavior of the individual ordinarily is under rather rigid and effective control. Prescribed conduct is clearly defined and rather generally accepted. At the same time, certain proscriptions upon a person's behavior are continually felt. The comparative absence, in this rural and relatively homogeneous society, of Alternatives of behavior with reference to which the developing child is forced to make a decision, makes the unfolding of his personality a relatively simple process.

Although control is rigid, it is seldom, if ever, felt to be onerous, since it is exercised subtly, by way of attitudes which are taken over in a spontaneous and largely unwitting fashion, early in the life of the child. His behavior comes, rather naturally and with a minimum of self-consciousness, to be channelized by the etiquette, ritual, and ceremony in which he participates; and by the dogma, myth, and legend which, in the course of time, come to form the major portion of his mental world almost as if they had been absorbed with the air he had breathed. The more conscious influence of public opinion, in the formation of which certain issues are debated, and of law with its formalized mechanisms of control, play a reduced role in both child and adult experience.

The mechanisms of social control thus are, with few exceptions, elementary in character. Rapport with parent, sibling, or other relative, play companion, spouse, or other friend, in which suggestion operates spontaneously and automatically, especially when reenforced by prestige, is perhaps the most powerful and effective of these mechanisms. "I never go out of the house alone with my *noivo*,"<sup>44</sup> said a girl, whose relation with her mother is of intensely intimate character, and to whom her mother is a person of considerable prestige, "because my mother doesn't want me to."

Gossip is also an effective means of control in the community, although, because it is less spontaneous and unwitting, its action is less immediate than those of rapport, suggestion, and prestige. It obviously involves a heightening of self-consciousness and hence may lead to resentment and perhaps resistance, either passive or active, before

the individual, as usually occurs in the community, ultimately conforms. "What destroys one's peace of mind here," complained a villager, "is the 'they say that he says' (*diz-que-diz*). Someone starts to talk and soon everyone is talking. When you do something you shouldn't, you get it from all sides." "As soon as the slightest thing happens," remarked a young woman, "a chain forms. People begin to gossip here and there. By the time you know what's up, everyone is talking about you."

The effectiveness of these means of control is considerably increased by the circumstance that everyone knows personally everyone else. There is no anonymity in the village. No one can hide either himself or his acts. Virtually everything he does is soon known to all. The effectiveness of these means of control is also increased by the circumstance that the group is relatively small and consequently the normal curiosity of one person about another is not as easily surfeited as in an urban situation.

A woman, returning from another woman's house in the village, spoke to a neighbor's 5-year-old child who was playing in the street and then added a question regarding his play. The child ignored both greeting and question and inquired, "Why did you go see Nhá Chica (naming the person the woman had visited) today?" A school teacher who had recently been assigned to the village arrived at school, one day, a few minutes late. When, some days later, she refused the request of a village mother to let her children go home early, saying, "It's still schooltime," the mother inquired, "Was it not already schooltime the other day when you got here late?" The same teacher was also heard to remark that in other places where she had been stationed, she "could do more as she pleased." "I could even be absent and no one would say anything about it. But in this little village they know everything you do. If I'm a minute late, there will be several persons *de olho comprido* = watching me."

As might be expected, the significant role of gossip in this society and the normal curiosity of one human being about the life of another give rise to what might be referred to as "specialists in gossip" whose function may be as significant, if not even more significant than that of other local

<sup>44</sup> The man to whom she is engaged.

= Literally, "with a long eye."



specialists, for example, the bell ringer, the horse-shoer, and the auctioneer of *prendas*. Of such a "specialist," a villager complained, "That woman seems to have nothing else to do except tell tales about other people." Of the same person, another villager remarked, "We call her 'the newspaper.'"

The role of propaganda as a mechanism of social control is quite reduced in the community. In politics and especially during election campaigns, its role is attempted, but the control which most often ensues is less due to the effectiveness of the propaganda itself than to the suggestion transmitted by way of rapport and the prestige of the man who disseminates it. Similarly, it is only on rare occasions that a local inhabitant is made aware of the existence of formal law. Where the mores are universally effective, law has little, or no, function and hence no necessity of existence. In fact, law usually emerges when the mores begin to break down. Legal prescriptions touch the life of local inhabitants almost exclusively in the form of taxation, in activities connected with the settlement of an estate or the drawing up and transfer of a deed, or the rituals of the civil marriage ceremony. If a person drinks *pinga* to excess, he may also find himself locked up for the night in the village jail. The action in this case, however, is taken at the order of the local *sub-delegado* who may be a relative or *compadre* or at least an acquaintance, and consequently the enforcement of the law in this case has a more informal, than formal, character, as is revealed in the ordinarily tolerant and sympathetic way in which the deviation from the norm is handled by the village official. "Sometimes I just send them home," he says, "and then I talk to them later. I tell them that that is no way for a man with a family, or the son of Nhô Brais, to act."

Even violent behavior, such as a heated quarrel or other serious form of conflict, is similarly treated. "This village gives one very little trouble," remarked the *soldado*, "*É como uma família só* (It's just like one big family). The *sub-delegado* has 53 *compadres* besides all his relatives, and whenever a dispute breaks out, the people here usually settle it among themselves."

Self-control, the most effective of all controls, is, as might be expected, highly developed in the community. Since there is comparatively little

uncertainty regarding the mores, the control which they exercise over the conduct of the individual is of powerful character. As soon as he has assumed the attitudes common to the community, he obviously comes to look upon his own behavior much as other persons look upon it. The external controls thus become internalized.

## HUMOR

A characteristic trait of the local society and culture is humor. Rarely are the faces of the inhabitants set in serious lines, expressing preoccupation or intense seriousness. The encounter of two or more persons at the home of a villager or farmer, in a street of the village, on the road, at a *venda*, or elsewhere, almost invariably evokes smiles on the part of all present and humorous remarks which, sooner or later, may result in laughter, the frequency and intensity of which will increase with the rapport which laughing always helps to evoke and nurture.

When a person joins a group that is conversing, he usually is welcomed with a jocular remark which symbolizes his acceptance by the others and his ready incorporation into the group. Reference may be made to some well-known characteristic of the person or to some event, recent or remote, in which he figured, the recalling of which evokes humor on the part of all present. On one occasion, for instance, a conversation group was joined by Seu Jaime, a villager who is universally respected and admired and who, occasionally, by preference, goes barefoot. As he approached, one of the men in the group turned toward him and said, "Look at the fellow! That miser! Let's all chip in and buy him a pair of shoes." "Yes," said another person who was present, referring to the fact that the economic condition of the man in question is above the average in the community, "Can it be that he hasn't piled up enough money to buy a pair of shoes?" After which he added, addressing himself to Sen Jaime, "We were just talking about the fact that a miser, the more he has the more he wants and the worse he lives."

This banter, taking its cue from the well-known habit of their friend, served to welcome him into the group and also to acquaint him, in a humorous way, with the subject under consideration. Since the man in question in no sense is considered a



miser and since his going barefoot is by reason of preference rather than necessity, no risk of offending him was assumed in the remarks.<sup>228</sup>

Joking, however, must be indulged in with care. "Sensitive feelings" must not be "hurt." In fact, "kidding" is relatively infrequent and, when it is indulged in, ordinarily is carried on with caution. Remarks are always accompanied by a smile or other evidence that humor, and not criticism, is involved.

It would seem that one of the characteristics which make a thing or an event humorous, is its incongruity or marked deviation from that which is commonly experienced. With hearty laughs and other expressions of merriment, an elderly woman remarked, "A man once said to a child, 'You must not eat any more oranges, my son,' and the child replied, 'But I want more oranges, my father.' So the father asked his child, 'Do you want to be like the man who ate so many oranges that he lost his hat under the rinds?'" Twice, amid explosive laughter, the woman repeated the remark: "And he lost his hat under the rinds."

The pun is often heard in conversation and almost invariably provokes a smile or a hearty laugh. It thus contributes effectively to reduce social distance, build up rapport, and reinforce solidarity. To a neighbor who had come in for a chat, a host courteously asked, "Would you like a *batida*?"<sup>229</sup> Seu André? "No," was the reply. "I'm already *abatido*."<sup>230</sup> Everyone present laughed heartily. Then Seu André himself joined in the laughter.

Meanings may become inverted in a humorous situation so that the direct opposite of the thing or event in question is intended and understood. In fact, under such circumstances, it would seem that the humor itself consists in this inversion.

Chico was walking along the *Rua da Penha*, his head bent, as if in deep thought and Pedro was coming up the street toward him. As Pedro drew near, he stopped, put both hands on his hips and waited, a scowl on his face. External appearances thus indicated that a fight was about to take place.

As Chico came nearer, Pedro's expression became even more grim and forbidding. Suddenly, he feigned as if to draw a knife and shouted at Chico, "You dog, you! Do you think you can put fear into me by such a hard face? If there's anything to be settled between us, we'll clear it up right here and now!" "Get out of my way, you pile of filth!"<sup>231</sup> Chico shouted, in an apparently angry tone of voice. "Throw away that knife before I make you swallow it!" And with this exchange, the two men rushed at each other and began to wrestle violently. In a few moments, however, each desisted from his exertions, put an arm on the other's shoulder and the two men walked back down the street, laughing and talking animatedly together. Several women and children in nearby houses, who had observed and obviously enjoyed the encounter, turned again to their work or play. "These crazy men," commented an elderly woman, laughing, "they're all like children!"

#### PROVERBS, EPIGRAMS, AND OTHER COMMON SAYINGS<sup>232</sup>

A considerable number of proverbs, epigrams, and other sayings are commonly employed in the conversation of local inhabitants. Among those heard being used were the following:

- A lot of water and few fish.
- He who has no dog, hunts with a cat.
- He is with his egg crosswise. ("He is 'in a bad humor'.")<sup>233</sup>
- An old monkey doesn't step on a dead limb.
- Ripe fruit at the side of the road either has a worm in it or is sour.
- A son of a fish can be only a fish.
- It's there that the sow twists her tail. ("It's at this point that matters become complicated.")
- Rain doesn't break the bones.
- He wants to keep off the sun with a sieve. ("He's trying to hide what everybody knows about.")
- No one can suck sugarcane and whistle at the same time.
- In a closed mouth, flies do not enter. ("He who takes no chances, suffers no ill consequences.")
- The monkey that jumps around a lot is asking for lead. ("The person who meddles in the affairs of others, gets himself into trouble.")

<sup>228</sup> It may also be true that the remarks served, in a large measure unconsciously, to express mild disapproval at deviant behavior (going without shoes on the part of an adult man).

<sup>229</sup> A drink made of *pinga*, lemon juice, and water, shaken together (*batida*).

<sup>230</sup> Dejected.

<sup>231</sup> The Portuguese term employed was *porcozão*.

<sup>232</sup> In translating these phrases, an effort has been made to preserve as much as possible the original style and expression. Words that rhyme have been retained.

<sup>233</sup> Explanations given by local inhabitants are cited between quotation marks.



There is no *sapo* (male toad) without his *sapa* (female toad).

He went to fetch wool and came back sheared.

I put my hand into an ant hill only when there are no ants in it.

It's a lot of bananas for a *vinhem*.<sup>222</sup> (The effect is too great for the apparent cause. "He is doing me so many favors, I am suspicious of his intentions.")

A wolf doesn't eat a wolf.

When doubts come in, out goes love.

Friends are friends, but business is something else.

The principal thing about a *negócio* (business transaction) is the secret.

It is better to have a friend in the *praga*<sup>223</sup> than money in the box.

A lie in the mouth of the powerful is worth more than a hundred truths in the mouth of the weak.

Water and counsel are given only to those who ask.

In a fight between a husband and wife one does not intervene. ("Because after the quarrel is over and the husband and his wife have made up, the person who has intervened is at a disadvantage with both.")

An unmarried girl has an *alqueire* and a half of shame. When she marries, she loses a half *alqueire*. When she spends the first night with her husband, she loses another half *alqueire*; and when she has her first child, she loses the last half *alqueire* and has no more shame.

He's in the woods without a dog.

I have the day and the night which is the plenty that God gave me. ("I have the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars and so many other beautiful things that I am content.")

For love of the *santo* one kisses the altar. ("One does a favor for one person because of another.")

I know him from the tips of his fingernails to the roots of his hair.

One does not strike a woman, even with a flower.

A house without a woman is a body without a soul.

A young girl and *chita*<sup>224</sup> are neither ugly nor *bonita* (pretty). ("It is of little importance whether or not the girl is pretty; to be young is sufficient. Just as with a dress; any one will do.")

I live laughing but it is to keep from weeping.

More love and less impertinence. ("Our relationship does not justify these familiarities.")

First the *obrigação* (obligation), then the *devolução* (worship). ("The necessities of life come first; then religion.")

Faith in God and a grapple on the world. ("One should have faith; but one should also wrestle with the world.")

It is well to go along with the priest but at a distance. ("The priest is a person you should respect since he is a representative of religion; at the same time, you should not keep too close to him, because an incident might occur and he might put a curse upon you.")

Look after your life because death is certain. ("Do not concern yourself with death, because it is certain; concern yourself rather with life, for it is uncertain.")

There is no remedy for death because it already is a remedy for everything.

An orange in the morning is like gold, in the afternoon like *prata* (silver) and at night *mata* (it kills).

Children *criados* (grown), troubles *dobrados* (doubled). ("Children when grown are more trouble than when they are small.")

The love of all of a father's children for their father is not as great as his love for them.

There is no Saturday without the sun, no Sunday without a Mass, No Monday without laziness. ("Monday follows a day off. Everyone is indisposed toward work, as also on a day after a *feira* or a holiday.")

A request made *sem dinheiro* (without money) is paid *no rio Pinheiro* (in the Pinheiros River).<sup>225</sup>

A woman is like an orange; you can find one anywhere.

At night all cats are dark-colored.

Fog on the *serra* (range of hills or mountains), rain *berra* (is bleating; that is, coming).

Pepper in another person's eyes does not burn.

When it is very small, you can twist the cucumber.

Sadness doesn't pay debts. ("It doesn't help to cultivate sadness because it doesn't solve any of the problems of life.")

Much *riso* (laughter), little *siso* (thought, judgment, sense).

He who sleeps at the barrel wakes up at the dipper. ("He who drinks [alcohol] at night is thirsty in the morning.")

An inheritance, the devil dances. ("Those who come into an inheritance are apt to spend it quickly.")

He who does not cry, does not suckle.

He who has a *boca* (mouth) goes to *Roma* (Rome).

When a man gets old, his sight decreases and his suspicions increase.

God writes straight with crooked lines. ("God's ways are often incomprehensible to man.")

<sup>222</sup> Persons traveling from the community to São Paulo enter the metropolitan area through the former village of Pinheiros, near which flows the Pinheiros River. As has been indicated in the section on Isolation and Contact, it has long been customary for persons who traveled out of the community to receive requests from friends and relatives to purchase articles for them. The meaning here is that a paper on which a request has been written may be thrown in the river if the money for the purchase is not also furnished.

<sup>223</sup> An old Portuguese coin.

<sup>224</sup> The market.

<sup>225</sup> Cotton print cloth.



The order is rich and the friars are few. ("The benefits are great and there are few to share them.")

The outside door is the servant of the house.<sup>122</sup>

Let him who isn't dancing, carry the child.

One likes to take his *almoço* early better than his *jantar* late.

The truth you don't always tell.

One dances in keeping with the music. ("One accommodates himself to circumstances.")

For him who understands, half a word is enough.<sup>123</sup>

He who robs a thief has a hundred years of pardon.

He whom God *ajuda* (helps) is better off than he who *cedo madrugada* (gets up very early).

He paid for the slave and also for the pipe. ("He paid more than it was worth.")

He's a *caipira* who cuts on both sides. ("He's a shrewd *caipira*.)

The *caboete*'s<sup>124</sup> hook is a deck of cards.

He is full of fingers (confused, embarrassed).

The thing stank like a burnt horn.

That is a thing from the time of the *oaga* (very ancient).

Marriage puts sense into a man.

To marry (*casar*) is not a dress coat (*casaca*) that one hangs on a peg. ("Marriage is a serious affair; you only marry once.")

The face does not hide what the heart feels.

To a *feita* or a baptism you do not go unless you are invited.<sup>125</sup>

The river runs to the sea. ("Money seeks the rich man.")

A bird doesn't forget its old nest.

He who sees only the face, does not see the heart.

With one grain after another, the hen fills her crop.

The best watch is the stomach.

Love is paid with love.

Water that has passed on doesn't turn the mill.

The obligation of him who owes is to pay.

Punishment sometimes delays, but it will not fail (to come).

Create *fama* (fame) and lie down in a *cama* (bed).

("After one has got a reputation, he doesn't have to exert himself. He can live on his reputation.")

In this world, he who walks least, flies. ("Everyone is taking as much advantage as he can of everyone else. You must be alert. You may think someone is a fool, but he may turn out to be an eagle [a 'sharp one'].")

For every fool who is born, there are a hundred "sharp ones."

Today, fools are born dead.

He who hits, forgets; but he who is hit, remembers.

Economy is the basis of filth. ("If you don't spend any money at all, you will live in want." Modification of the proverb "Economy is the basis of prosperity.")

The eye of the owner fattens his animals.

Necessity puts the rabbit on the jump.

The best seasoning is hunger.

A woman has as much strength in her tongue as an ox puts on the yoke.

Dirty clothes are washed at home.

Only the crawfish goes backwards.

Of the doctor and the *louco* (insane), everyone has *um pouco* (a little). ("Everyone knows some remedy for illness to suggest to others; he also, at certain times in his life, is not entirely sane.")

To God, nothing is impossible.

A rope always parts where the strands are weakest.

Using a pipe makes the mouth crooked.

He who knows everything, knows nothing.

Water doesn't run up hill.

Some people live to eat; others eat to live.

Training begins in the cradle.

If the horse is a gift, you don't look at its teeth.

Soft water that drops on a rock long enough bores right through it.

That which is prohibited is always the best.

The hen of your neighbor is always fatter.

Justice begins at home. ("When you have to judge, you should judge yourself.")

To speak is like silver; to keep silent is like gold.

He who waits, always obtains (what he desires).

The truth sometimes takes time but it always comes out.

A person who is not content with a little, will not be content with much.

The alterations were worse than the sonnet. ("The attempt to correct the error only aggravated it.")

There are evils which come for one's good.

There is no smoke without fire.

Far from the eyes, far from the heart.

Better late than never.

It is better to walk alone than in bad company.

It is better to prevent than to cure.

It is better to have too much than not enough.

He who cares, goes himself; he who does not care, sends someone else.

The walls have ears.

There is no mush on his tongue. ("He doesn't hesitate to tell you what he thinks about you, whether it be good or bad.")

The voice of the people is the voice of God.

From the thorn is born the rose. ("Everything that is good one gets by suffering. After a time of adversity comes a time of satisfaction.")

As in other parts of Brazil,<sup>126</sup> a few sayings now current in the community reflect experiences and

<sup>122</sup> A phrase used on the occasion of expelling a person from one's home.

<sup>123</sup> So well-known is this proverb that only half the sentence is customarily employed: "For him who understands . . ."

<sup>124</sup> A term with variant meanings in Brazil. In the sense in which it is used here, it is synonymous with *caipira*. (See *Caipira* versus *Cidadao*, p. 108.)

<sup>125</sup> By "a festa or a baptism," is meant any festive event.

<sup>126</sup> See, for instance, Pierson, 1942, p. 262.



attitudes of the slave era. They are employed more as interesting and humorous expressions handed down from a former time than as characterizations of living individuals. Among these expressions are the following:

- The Negro isn't born; he just appears.
- The Negro doesn't court; he *faz fosquinha*.<sup>34</sup>
- The Negro doesn't pray; he mumbles.
- The Negro doesn't accompany a procession; he tags along behind.
- The Negro doesn't dance; he fights.
- The Negro doesn't dance; he jumps up and down.
- The bed of a Negro is a *girau*.<sup>35</sup>
- A Negro is *onçô's* fool.

### SOCIAL CHANGE

By reason of the comparative isolation which has long been characteristic of the community, social change so far has been minimal. Since the solidification of the moral order during the early years of the colonial period, the limited number of ideas and attitudes brought in from the outside in most cases have come from neighboring communities where the society and culture are quite similar. Little strain for consistency has been injected into the local mores. Life has tended to go on much as it did in the past.

At the same time, physical isolation is breaking down. The community not only is effectively feeling the impingement of the metropolitan market of São Paulo, but also is beginning to feel the impact of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments characteristic of this urban center. It is therefore probable that in the not distant future the community will experience a rather decided alteration in the manner of its living and that the rate of change will progressively increase.

As has been indicated, changes have already occurred in the means of contact with the outside world. The appearance of the truck in the community for the first time some years ago,<sup>36</sup> marked the beginning of a notable change in transportation. Produce could be moved in quantities much more rapidly and cheaply. The use of the *tropa de carga* (pack train) and the *carro de boi* (ox-cart), which previously had been the principal means of transport, at once began to decline.

Today, the *tropas* have completely disappeared in the community and oxcarts are comparatively rare.

One of the consequences of this change was a shift in occupation on the part of several villagers who previously had been *tropeiros* (drivers of pack trains) or *carreiros* (drivers of oxcarts). One of these men is now a storekeeper. Another is a farmer and a third is a farm laborer. Two are deceased. Another consequence of this change was a certain improvement in the roads so that trucks could pass where, previously, only oxen, horses and burros had gone. Limited as was this improvement at first, it facilitated transportation and communication, not only by way of trucks but also by way of other means.

The first automobile seen in the village is vividly remembered by older inhabitants. A villager said:

It was around 30 years ago—I was only a boy then—when we saw our first automobile. It brought Washington Luiz.<sup>37</sup> At that time, he was *prefeito* in São Paulo. He came in a *Fordinho de bigode*.<sup>38</sup> I remember it well. Everybody ran out into the street. All gathered around and stood there, looking at the *Fordinho* as if they were in a daze, their mouths open and their eyes bugging out. I did the same thing; it was something very new for us. He took *café* there where the *botequim* is today. When he left, the *Fordinho* got stuck in the road and he had to get two horses to pull it out. He said to the men who helped him, "Take these few coppers and get yourselves a drink"; and then he gave them 12 *milreis*. The men certainly were pleased. In those days, 12 *milreis* were a lot of money.

Another villager added:

That automobile was a real success here. People were all excited. They had never seen anything like it.<sup>39</sup>

The inauguration of daily bus service through the village to the neighboring towns of Boa Vista and Piracema, which occurred while the community was under observation, in all probability will increase the rate of change, as has no previous event. Contact with these neighboring towns used to be much more difficult. Persons had walked the 11 and 7 miles, respectively, had gone on horse-

<sup>34</sup> A former governor of the State and president of Brazil.

<sup>35</sup> Literally, "the little Ford with a moustache," a term commonly employed in Brazil to refer to the Model T Ford. The fact that the two bars, mounted on the steering wheel to control the amount of gasoline supplied to the engine and to "advance" or "retard" the spark, were reminiscent of a moustache, gave rise to this expression.

<sup>36</sup> There still are no automobiles owned in the community, however, with the exception of an old and imperfectly functioning car which is rarely used.

<sup>37</sup> Attracts attention to himself by way of grimaces and other antics.

<sup>38</sup> See *Dwellings and Furnishings*, p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> See *Transportation*, p. 94.



back, in an oxcart or, in a few cases, in a *charrete*; or, in more recent years, had ridden, standing up, in some truck which was going in the direction they wanted to go. Contact with these towns, either directly by way of traveling on the bus itself or indirectly by seeking and talking to passengers who go through the village, or to relatives and friends who have returned from one of the towns, is now a daily occurrence. Each of the four times the bus passes through the village daily, as has been indicated elsewhere, is an event eagerly anticipated by villagers, bringing as it does a certain excitement into their lives not previously known. Curiosity about the outside world is stirred, especially in the minds of the young but to some extent also in the minds of older persons, especially of those women who have rarely been outside the local community. Since the establishment of the bus line, there has been a noticeable decrease in the number of persons seen on the roads on horseback and in *charretes*. Some persons have already sold their horses, since they are used rather for travel than for work in the field. As one man said, "It's so much easier to go by bus. When you get to town, you don't have to look for a place to put up your horse." Not only has travel on the part of men increased, but travel on the part of women has increased even more. "There were a lot of women and girls on the bus this morning," said, recently, one of the directors of the line. "Occasionally, the women take the early bus after they've prepared *armoço* for the men in the fields and they come back on the 2 o'clock bus in good time to get the evening meal." Messages and parcels are being much more readily sent and received than formerly.<sup>97</sup>

The regular passage of strangers through the village has heightened the self-consciousness of local inhabitants, a fact which is reflected in several physical changes in the village. One of the storekeepers has had a sidewalk of broken stone and cement laid outside his store. Another storekeeper has had his *venda* recalcimined and his name, together with the word *Casa* (commercial house), painted on the front. The third storekeeper, in front of whose *venda* the bus regularly stops, has had the building repaired and the out-

side recalcimined.<sup>98</sup> The owner of the *botequim* has had the word *Botequim* painted near the front door where passengers on the bus who might care to take a glass of *pinga*, or other drink, during the few minutes spent in the village, can readily see it. The *fiscal* has had the *praça* cleared of grass and weeds and recently arranged for a road grader to come over from Boa Vista to improve village streets.

The painting of the word *Botequim* on one building and of the name of the store on another, were the first identifications of this kind to appear in the village, where streets have never needed a name plate, since everyone knows where everyone else lives. The appearance of these markers thus symbolizes the beginning of a shift from a condition in which relations were almost exclusively primary to one in which relations of a different character are beginning to appear. Obviously, a stranger who is passing through the village for the first time is not expected to know, as does every villager, where the *botequim* and the store of Sen Augusto are.

At the same time, local inhabitants are puzzled at the formality they observe in the attitude of these strangers. Contacts of other than a primary and informal character are too new to be understood. Strangers who do not give out information about themselves are resented. They are referred to as "*gente soberbo*" (haughty, proud people), "*gente sem educação*" (people without manners) and "*grandinhas da cidade*" ("high-hats" from the city). "They seem to want to hold you a long way off as if they were afraid of getting themselves dirty,"<sup>99</sup> a villager remarked.

Most local inhabitants merely remain silent, looking at the strangers and thinking about how different and incomprehensible they seem to be. The manner in which villagers circle the bus as it pulls up, however, and the expressions on their faces, leave little doubt about the dominant desire to approach these strange people and to establish contact with them. If, by chance, one of the strangers enters into conversation, he is soon asked, matter-of-factly, whence he came, what brought him to this part of the country, where he is going, if he is married and has a family, at

<sup>97</sup> More recently, he has purchased a radio, the second in the village, for his store.

<sup>98</sup> Trata a gente de longe como se tivesse medo de euê.

<sup>99</sup> See *Isolation and Contact*, p. 103.



what does he work and other questions which help to "locate" him in terms of primary relations. Similar inquiries are always made of a person who moves to the community. If the newcomer is frank and open in his replies, the fact is soon known all over the village and wherever he goes he will sense a friendly and hospitable atmosphere. If, however, he is unaccustomed to such behavior and consequently unaware of the absolute necessity of establishing and maintaining primary contacts, and replies evasively or does not reply at all, considering the questions impertinent, he will soon be brought to realize that he is neither accepted nor wanted in the community.

Passengers from the outside who pass through on the bus add somewhat to the income of the community by paying for travel on a line which is owned locally and for such refreshment and other purchases as may be made while the bus is stopped briefly in the village. The owners of the bus line have been forced to have considerable work done on the road, travel on which by motor vehicle previously was precarious in many places, especially on the steeper slopes, immediately following a rain. This improvement of the roads, together with the inauguration of regular bus service, not only to carry passengers but also milk and other farm produce, is expected to increase land values along the way.

The setting up a few years ago of a motor, driven by water power, on the *fazenda* at the edge of the village, and the consequent lighting of the church and two houses with electricity added to the material convenience of local inhabitants. The radio which was recently introduced brought São Paulo into daily contact with at least a few villagers. The airplanes which in the last few years have flown regularly over the region remind local inhabitants of life in other places.<sup>230</sup> The new means of communication are stimulating

curiosity, especially in the younger generation, curiosity regarding the outside world, as revealed in the way, for instance, children watch an airplane flying overhead or stand around looking at the passengers on the bus. It is also stimulating a desire to see and to know the world that lies outside the community.

During the period in which the community was under observation, a cinema was set up by the administrator of the *fazenda* which lies at the edge of the village. An old building near one of the *vendas* was utilized and a wire run from the generator driven by water power on the *fazenda*. The period of operation of the cinema, however, was brief. The expense, in relation to the financial return was too great. Old "silent" pictures, with English subtitles, including travelogues, "westerns" and comics, were shown on Saturday and Sunday evenings. During the brief period the cinema functioned, however, the number of dances, which are occasionally held on Saturday evening, declined and those held were briefer than formerly, since they began only after the termination of the cinema performance. Bits of information obtained from the showing of these pictures began occasionally to appear in the conversation of local residents, indicating that mental horizons were being enlarged to some extent.

Although the plow was introduced into the area perhaps early in the present century, the hoe, as has been indicated, is still the principal agricultural tool. Commercial fertilizer has been known in the community for several years, but is little used, as also are sprays and insecticides. The *monjolo* has now almost entirely been substituted by the two mills for grinding maize.<sup>231</sup>

To a considerable extent, the former self-sufficiency of the farms has given way to a condition in which the planting of one or more money crops, like onions, potatoes, or beans, determined by the needs of the outside market and the estimate of the farmer as to which crop will bring the best price, is becoming the dominant interest of farmers. "It used to be," said a local resident, "that a man planted a bit of everything and the little the family didn't use was exchanged for the few things that couldn't be raised, like salt and cloth. But that time is passing." A few farms, however, still are largely self-sufficient. One of

<sup>230</sup> The use in the community of a jeep on the part of research personnel engaged in this study attracted widespread interest, as also did the use of a Coleman propane lantern. As has been indicated, two of the storekeepers, the owner of the principal *botequim* and the owner of the bakery subsequently purchased Coleman lanterns for their places of business. The buildings were then kept open longer in the evening, thereby lengthening the conversations of frequenters of these establishments, and especially of the groups of conversation that form nightly (see Conversation Groups, p. 112). The light which was hung out into the street by the lanterns, extending much farther than the light of the kerosene lamps previously used, gave to the village, in the evening, a brightness and attractiveness not known before.

<sup>231</sup> See Grinding Maize, p. 86.



these has been described.<sup>322</sup> Of another, a villager said, "The farm of *compadre* Henrique is very well set up. He buys almost nothing but salt and the clothes for his family. Everything else he takes out of the ground." The former system of bartering products "always carried on with honesty where everybody knew the value of the things they traded," as one man put it, has now largely been substituted by a system in which transactions carried on with the owners of trucks who come into the region to take farm produce to the urban market and who, as another man put it, "are accustomed to the complex, if not to say, dishonest business practices of the city," figure prominently. "It used to be we hardly ever saw money," recalls a villager. "We traded what we had left over with someone who needed it for something he had too much of and we needed." The principal vestiges of the old system are the liquidation of a farmer's debt, contracted at a village store, by means of a delivery of onions, beans, potatoes, or other produce; and the exchange of maize, at the two mills, for maize flour.

These changes in the techniques of the community, however, have set the stage for social change rather than constituted it. At the same time, the old mores are beginning to be, at least to some extent, under strain, as is borne out by remarks occasionally heard. A storekeeper, for example, recently said, rather exaggeratedly, "A man of his word no longer exists." Another villager complained, also rather exaggeratedly, "There is no longer any respect for parents; you hear children saying '*você*' to their father."<sup>323</sup> "This thing of a woman giving the orders in the house," remarked another villager, referring to a local woman who tends to assume a role not ordinarily accruing to her sex, "of taking the place of the rooster in the yard, is something new."

Farmers complain that the men they hire to work on their farms today do not always care to work as hard as men did in the past. "Twenty years ago," a farmer remarked, "everyone was a hard worker; but today, they're not as good as they used to be." This criticism extends also to the young women. "These girls today aren't any

good," said, rather exaggeratedly, a woman in the village. "There was one in to help me after my last childbirth. She came from a farm near here. She didn't like to work; she wanted to lie in bed until 9 o'clock in the morning and then sleep some more during the day. All she cared about was having a good time. It's too bad these girls are that way. What can they gain by it?"

The younger women are beginning to react, perhaps in large part unconsciously, against the restraints upon their sex. Any alteration in behavior, however, still comes under immediate reproach and ridicule. At a recent dance, three girls remained in the center of the floor conversing with their partners after the music had stopped, an act which is not in keeping with the former custom. A man was heard to remark, "Look at that! Women are losing all sense of shame." When one of the girls suggested discreetly "that there be a *privilegio*,"<sup>324</sup> a man remarked, "These women are getting to be so forward no one can stand it any more." When a girl and a boy went outside the house in which the dance was being held to walk in the street, where other young people also were walking, although the sexes remained separated, a man was heard to remark, "When did anyone in the olden time see a girl go out like that, at night, with a boy?" "Quá! the world is lost," replied his companion, with a show of disgust. Knowledge regarding sexual behavior apparently is becoming somewhat more extensive among young women and girls than formerly. "Girls today know things that a married woman never used to hear," remarked a midwife. "Sometimes a little girl will say something that makes you want to turn your face away and never look at her again. But she is merely repeating what she's heard someone else say."

Politics probably occupies a smaller portion of the thought and activity of the men and a slightly larger portion of the thought and activity of the women than formerly was the case. As has been indicated,<sup>325</sup> the attitudes and sentiments related to religious behavior and to belief in such phenomena as the *almas* and the *assombrações*, as well as folk treatment of disease, are beginning to change, especially among the men.

<sup>322</sup> See Agriculture, p. 63.

<sup>323</sup> *Você*, it will be recalled, is the familiar term used either between equals of great intimacy or in addressing persons of inferior status.

<sup>324</sup> A brief reversal of the usual roles of men and women at a dance so that the woman invites the man.

<sup>325</sup> See Skepticism, p. 182.



## SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Evidences of social disorganization scarcely exist in the community. The population is relatively homogeneous and stable. Mobility is minimal and limited largely to movement out of the community rather than into it, so that the local organization suffers little disturbance from without. The society is based largely on relations of kinship and *compadrio*<sup>22</sup> and is tenacious and resistant. The mores are relatively uniform and are crystallized into patterns generally known and accepted, so that they direct almost automatically the habits of the individual. There is little movement from one status or role to another. Contacts are almost exclusively primary and individuals encounter each other at virtually all points in their lives. To a considerable extent, experiences are common and shared, so that attitudes, ideas, and sentiments, and the mental worlds into which they enter, vary little throughout the community. Institutions are homogeneous and hence support and reinforce each other. Under these circumstances, a minimum of social disorganization is to be expected.

Since the individual and society, as Charles H. Cooley pointed out many years ago, are like the two sides of the same coin, each an integral and indispensable part of the other, it is axiomatic that social disorganization is always accompanied, as both a product and a condition, by personal disorganization. Among the indices of both of these phenomena are crime, juvenile delinquency, divorce, desertion, destitution, insanity (insofar as it is due to social, rather than biological, circumstances), and suicide. In the local community, these indications of disintegration are virtually absent.

Juvenile delinquency is unknown. Such phenomena as vagrancy, theft, robbery, the defacement, looting or destruction of property, prostitution and gang behavior, on the part of children or adolescents, do not exist in any form. In the last two decades, crime has been limited to two incidents. One was the attempted rape, about 2 years ago, of a feeble-minded girl on the part of a young man who was immediately taken in hand by his father and other members of the family in such a way that relations between the two families

involved were strengthened, rather than strained or broken, by the incident. Twelve years ago, two men were shot and killed in a drunken brawl in a village store, the culmination of a heated argument in which the killer believed his personal worth to be impugned. The killing was unpremeditated. Although the man was sentenced to 28 years in the State penitentiary, and the act of killing was universally condemned, the fact that he defended his personal worth was in accordance with, rather than in contradiction to, the local mores, and consequently it in no way evidences social disorganization.

No one locks the doors when he leaves the house unless all the members of the family are to be away for a considerable period of time, when the house, especially if it be on a farm, will be closed tightly against the possibility that some vagrant from outside the community, who may be passing through, will enter and pilfer. Tools and other property are left with safety from one year to the next in sheds without doors or scattered about the farm or village yard. Chickens, ducks, goats and other domestic animals wander about the village at will, without danger of theft. "No one around here steals anything," remarked a villager. "My neighbor has a granary right there facing the street where he leaves onions, maize, and other things. Anyone could go there at night with a sack and help himself. But nobody takes anything. On the farms around here, people leave their beans, potatoes, maize, onions and other things piled up in the field and no one bothers them." "If a person does something he shouldn't do," said the *sub-delegado*, "I usually just talk to him a little; but if he were a thief, and I had my way about it, I'd kill him. We can't have thieves around." Inhabitants have no memory of any robbery, either with or without a gun, having been committed in the community.

A small room in the building where village officials discharge their obligations is reserved for the *sub-delegado* to talk to infractors of the law, and two other small rooms, with wooden bars at the doors and windows, are used as the village jail. The latter has been occupied, however, within the memory of villagers, only by an occasional man who has partaken too freely of *pinga*, or other alcoholic drink, become disorderly, and been lodged in a cell until again sober. "Sometimes," says

<sup>22</sup> See *Compadrio*, p. 142.



the *sub-delegado*, "a man drinks a little too much and then he may strike another man or shove him around a bit. So I tell the *sordado* to put him in the jail. But if he has a wife and children, I have him brought to me as soon as he's sober and I say to him, 'Now this is not right! You ought not to do things like that! You should do thus and so,' and then I send him home."

There is no organized prostitution. Although a married woman and two widows are known to receive the attentions of men for pay, they are in no sense outcasts in the community. The other women treat and speak to them with tolerance, except in the event a husband becomes emotionally involved.

Divorce does not exist in Brazil, a proscription which is supported in the local mores. "Marriage is for life," a village woman remarked, "and one should stick to it, come what may." Desertion rarely occurs. No man is known to have deserted his wife and family.<sup>221</sup> During recent years three local women, none of whom now lives in the community, have left their husbands. The husband of one is feeble-minded. The second woman left her husband and small child and went away with another man. "She put her face out into the world and we never heard from her again," says the mother of the husband, who took the child to rear. The third woman is said "to have been false to her husband. When he objected to her conduct, she left."

Poverty is extensive; but destitution is always avoided by the sharing, on the part of relatives, friends, and neighbors, of their means of subsistence, even though meager, with the especially unfortunate.

There is one actual case of insanity in the village and two other persons are referred to by villagers as "insane." In each case, however, the abnormality appears to be due rather to biological than to social circumstances. The person who is insane is a woman, 35 years old, who lives with her 72-year-old mother, a feeble-minded brother of 51 years, and the latter's 17-year-old son. She has been insane, it is said, since birth. She occasionally appears at the door of the house or is seen through a window, walking back and

forth or in a circle, and suddenly raising her arms over her head, distorting her features, and crying out in unintelligible sounds. The two daughters of one of the village storekeepers, aged 35 and 14 years, respectively, are referred to in the village as *loucas* (insane) but appear rather to be feeble-minded, as well as epileptic.

Four suicides are remembered by present residents in the village. About 30 years ago, a man was found one morning hanging in a tree. A villager recalls the event vividly:

That day the fellow had gone to Boa Vista on foot. It was dark by the time he got back. As he was coming along the road, he saw two black things there jumping around in front of him. He couldn't make out what they were. He kicked at them and he yelled, "Get away from here! Don't bother me!" Finally, he got back to the village and went to the house of his cousin to spend the night. After he had gone to bed, someone heard him call out, "Go away! Quit bothering me!" When, a little later, they heard him say again, "Go away! Quit bothering me!" they got up and went to the room where he was sleeping to see what was wrong, and he said, "There's some kind of an animal that keeps bothering me." They looked around everywhere but found nothing, and finally they went back to bed. A little later, they heard him call out, "Let's go! Let's go!" Several hours later, someone heard him get up and go outside the house and the next morning they found him hanging from the limb of a tree.

About 25 years ago, a man hanged himself in a house at the edge of the village. He was a Negro, new to the community and alone, without family.<sup>222</sup> About 6 years ago, a farmer, who drank heavily and who had turned Protestant, then again Catholic, hanged himself at his home several miles from the village. More recently, a young man, 28 years old, married and the father of three small children, following a scuffle with a friend in which he had accidentally cut the friend's hand and had been severely reprimanded in public for his carelessness by his father, a village leader, took his life by drinking insecticide.

The usual difficulty in determining the chain of circumstances which, in a given case, lead to suicide, is obviously increased in these cases, where the only knowledge of the circumstances involved is to be obtained from the memories of persons who are not given to the precise registering of events.

<sup>221</sup> A young man who some years ago was forced to marry an unmarried mother of whose child he denied being the father, never lived with his wife.

<sup>222</sup> Some time later, a villager made a promise that "if things would get better" for him, he would put up a cross at the side of the road near this house as an aid to the unshaven alms (see Almer and the Santa Cruz, p. 189) of the suicide. The cross is still standing.



One of the suicides, however, was that of a man who had recently come to the village and hardly had begun to participate in the local society. It is not likely therefore that the disintegration of his personality which resulted in the taking of his life reflects social disorganization in the local community. In the case of the man who is reported to have had hallucinations, it is probable that at least some measure of insanity was involved, which may or may not have arisen out of social circumstances. One of the other men was a brother of the daughters of the storekeeper, mentioned above, whom villagers consider to be "queer," and his suicide may thus have been due more to biological than to social circumstances. The excessive use of alcoholic drink, on the part of the last of these four men, as well as his vacillation in allegiance to contending sects, may perhaps indicate mental disturbance which was due, at least in part, to social circumstances. The degree of social disorganization which is reflected in these

cases, however, especially when one also takes into consideration the fact that these are the only cases of suicide within the memory of local residents, would seem not to be very great.

The beginnings of disintegration, in the case of certain patterns of religious behavior, as revealed in the decline of participation in the *romarias*, in absence from Mass, confession, and communion, and in the development of a limited amount of skepticism with reference to Catholic belief, such phenomena as the *almas* and *assombrações* and the folk treatment of disease, indicate a certain amount of loosening of the controls over the behavior of the individual. The extent of this change, however, in comparison with the total round of local belief, is relatively negligible. In general, the local society is strong and vigorous and, as the comparative absence of indices of personal disorganization indicates, no measurable degree of social disorganization exists.



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## GLOSSARY

Included in the following list are Portuguese terms used in the text, with the exception of those employed only once or twice and defined at the time. The meanings given are in keeping with the usage in the local community and, in some cases, vary from meanings elsewhere.

- Abraço**, an embrace which may immediately be repeated once, twice, or more times and be accompanied by vigorous pats on the back.
- Administrador (de fazenda)**, an overseer of a *fazenda*.
- Aldeia**, (1) a village of tribal Indians; (2) a village of Indians settled by the Government or at the initiative of ecclesiastical authorities (colonial era).
- Almas (almas)**, the souls of the dead which, under certain circumstances, are thought to return and wander about the world and, sometimes, to disturb, inconvenience, perhaps harm the living.
- Almoço (armço)**, the first substantial meal of the day, taken sometime during the morning, usually between 9 and 11 a. m.
- Alqueire**, (1) a unit of measurement, equivalent (in the State of São Paulo) to 2.42 hectares or 5.9774 acres; (2) a unit of capacity, equivalent to 50 liters.
- Andor**, the platform on which an image is carried in a procession.
- Arapuca**, a trap for catching birds, made of *taquara* (pl. 20, a-c).
- Araticum**, a wild fruit, from the tree, *Annona* sp.
- Arroba**, a measurement of weight, equivalent to 15 kgm.
- Assombração** (plural, *assombrações*), a "visitation" of a ghostly being.
- Bagre**, a species of fish of the same family as the catfish.
- Bandeira**, (1) flag; (2) a cloth attached to a *mastra*, and bearing an impression of the image of a saint; (3) a group, consisting of one or more *bandeirantes* and their retainers, servants and slaves.
- Bandeirantes**, hardy adventurers, usually of Portuguese or Indian-Portuguese origin who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, setting out from the region around São Paulo, explored, and to some extent exploited, large areas in the central portion of the South American Continent.
- Barraquinha**, a crude shelter under which a counter is set up for selling food or drink at a *feira*.
- Benzedor** (fem., *benzedeira*), one who seeks to heal by "blessing"; that is, by employing magical formulas.
- Berne**, the larvae of the fly called *berneira*, *Dermatobia hominis*.
- Bolo**, cake.

- Botequim** (plural, *botequins*), a shop where alcoholic and a few "soft" drinks, usually for consumption on the premises, are the principal items sold.
- Branco** (fem., *branca*), literally *white*; a term used to refer to individuals who are of unmixed, or relatively unmixed, European origin or have acquired status commensurate with that of the whites.
- Bucha de terra**, (1) a fibrous growth produced by a plant related to the gourd, *Luffa cylindrica*; (2) the plant itself.
- Café**, (1) coffee made by roasting the coffee bean together with sugar, and grinding to a fine powder, subsequent to which boiling water is added and the liquid strained through a cloth; usually taken quite sweet; (2) the first meal of the day.
- Cafézinho**, one or more servings of *café* offered to a visitor, in keeping with prescribed rules of etiquette (also referred to as *café*).
- Cafuso** (fem., *cafusa*), a mixed-blood of Indian and African descent.
- Caieira**, a pile of wood, covered with earth and fired to make charcoal (pl. 8, c).
- Caipira**, (1) a rural inhabitant of the plateau area of the State of São Paulo; (2) a person living anywhere in Brazil outside the larger cities; (3) a person living in the city whose behavior recalls characteristics usually associated with rural inhabitants.
- Capelão** (plural, *capellães*), a layman who, on request, directs a religious ceremony at a private home, a wayside cross or chapel, or at a cemetery, repeating and chanting prayers.
- Capitão-mór**, the commander in chief of the militia of a city (colonial era).
- Capivara**, a large rodent, *Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*.
- Cará**, a plant (*Dioscorea* spp.) with edible tubers.
- Caraguatã**, a plant, *Bromelia antiochantha*, the root of which is used for food.
- Carroça**, a two-wheeled cart, with shafts, used for transporting farm produce and similar items.
- Cavaquinho**, a small viola.
- Cedro**, a species of cedar, *Cedrela glaziovii*.
- Centavo**, a hundredth part of a *crúzeiro*.
- Charrete**, a two-wheeled cart, with shafts, used for transporting persons and, occasionally, light articles.
- Churrasco**, a barbecue (pl. 19, e).
- Cidadão**, literally, *citizen*; a term employed in the local community with its original meaning: an inhabitant of the city.
- Cipó**, local term, of Guarani origin, for vine; more commonly used to refer to several species of vines used as cord or rope.



- Comadre**, literally, *co-mother*; the godmother of one's child, or the mother of one's godchild.
- Compadre**, literally, *co-father*; the godfather of one's child, or the father of one's godchild.
- Compadrio**, a system of relationships involving godchildren, godparents, and the natural parents of the godchildren.
- Couve**, a species of cabbage.
- Credo!**, an exclamation, consisting of a shortened form of the Apostle's Creed, used when one speaks or thinks of that which might harm him and against which he desires protection.
- Cruzeiro**, the unit of exchange in Brazil, equivalent, at the present official rate of exchange, to 5.45 cents (U. S.).
- Curandeiro**, a healer who employs herbs, magical formulas, and (sometimes) patent medicine.
- De cócoras**, a term used to refer to the local manner of squatting when resting, or when working at some task on the ground (pl. 20, a).
- Delegado**, law-enforcement officer of the *município*.
- Desconfiado**, a term used to describe an attitude of reserve, especially toward strangers, which reflects a lack of experience and of self-confidence, and apprehension regarding possible slights or harm.
- Distrito (de paz)**, the administrative subdivision of a *município*, consisting of a *vila* (a population nucleus smaller than the seat of the *município*) and its surrounding territory. There are as many *distritos* in a *município* as there are *vilas*, each named for the respective *vila*.
- Encomenda**, (1) a request to deliver, or bring, to the person asking, a message, letter or parcel; (2) an object so requested.
- Engenho**, (1) a simple press for squeezing out cane juice, with either iron or wooden cogs (pl. 15, a, b); (2) a larger mill for crushing cane to make *pinga*.
- Enxada**, a tool similar to the hoe, except that the blade is narrower and longer (fig. 8, d).
- Escrivão**, an official of the *distrito* who records deeds and vital statistics and also assists with the civil marriage ceremony.
- Evangelista**, a term employed by local inhabitants to refer to a member of any Protestant sect.
- Faca de bainha**, a knife, with a slender blade, carried in a sheath.
- Facão**, local type of machete (fig. 11).
- Farofa**, toasted maize or manioc meal, stirred into melted fat.
- Fazenda**, a large farm which may be supervised, but is not worked by the owner himself.
- Fazendeiro**, the owner of a *fazenda*.
- Festeiro**, a person who helps prepare, and assumes part of the financial obligations for, a festival.
- Fiscal (da prefeitura)**, an official who collects fees and similar levies.
- Foice**, a tool, with a curved blade and long handle, used for cutting brush and trimming trees (fig. 8, e).
- Fubá**, coarse maize meal.
- Garapa**, the juice of freshly crushed sugarcane.
- Garrucha**, a breech-loading, double-barreled pistol.
- Guaraná**, a soft drink, made from carbonated water and the seeds of the *guaraná*, a native plant, *Poullinia cupana*.
- Içá**, the female of the *sacão* ant at the flying stage of development, when the abdomen is heavy with eggs; used locally for food.
- Jacá**, a large, rectangular basket, with rounded corners, made of *taquara*, and used to transport articles on the back of a horse, mule or burro and, sometimes, a man.
- Jaboticába**, a fruit, from the tree, *Myrciaria* sp.
- Jantar**, the evening meal, usually taken sometime between 4:30 and 6:30 p. m.
- Juiz de paz**, justice of the peace, an official of the *distrito* who resolves small disputes and presides at the civil marriage ceremony.
- Lambari**, a species of fish (*Tetragonopterus*).
- Lamparina**, a crude lamp, made of a small bottle, or tin receptacle, and supplied with kerosene, a metal cap and a wick.
- Leiloeiro (de prendas)**, an auctioneer who auctions *prendas*.
- Lenha**, firewood.
- Lima**, a fruit, from the tree, *Citrus medica*; not the lime.
- Madrinha**, godmother.
- Mameluco** (fem., *mameluca*), a mixed-blood of Indian and European descent.
- Mancebia**, a system of conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanence.
- Massapé**, a dark, rich, porous soil of considerable depth.
- Mastro**, a long pole, set upright in the ground, sometimes painted in vivid colors, to the upper end of which is attached a *bandeira* (flag) to honor a given *santo* (pl. 16, a).
- Mata**, a forested area, heavily covered with vines and underbrush so that passage is extremely difficult.
- Mato**, (1) woods; (2) a wild, uninhabited area; (3) a rural region; (4) weeds.
- Mecê** (plural, *mecês*), a simplification of *vosmecê*, which in turn is a simplification of *vossemecê* and *Vossa Mercê* (Your Grace).
- Milreis**, the former medium of exchange in Brazil which, in 1942, was substituted by the *cruzeiro*, with the same value. As implied by the name, it was 1,000 *reis*.
- Monjolo**, a large mortar and pestle, operated by water power (fig. 12).
- Município**, an administrative subdivision of the state, consisting of a *cidade* (a town, of varying size), together with the immediately surrounding territory. The *cidade* has no corporate existence apart from the *município*.
- Mutirão**, the custom of neighboring farmers getting together to help one another with some activity, such as the planting, hoeing, or harvesting of a field, or the building of a house or other shelter.
- Nhô** (fem., *Nhã*), a term of respect, used with the given name of a person; a heritage of the slave epoch when the master was known as *Sinhô* (from *Senhor*, master) and the mistress as *Sinhá* (from *Senhora*, mistress).
- Olaria**, a small establishment for making brick (pl. 8, d).
- Onça**, a species of wild animal, *Panthera onca*.



- Oratório**, a small, crudely built household shrine, in which small images are kept.
- Paca**, a rodent, *Cuniculus paca*.
- Padre**, priest.
- Padrinho**, godfather.
- Paio**, a crib for storing farm produce (pl. 20, c).
- Pardo** (fem., *parda*), a term loosely employed in Brazil to refer to variations of color (and, to some extent, of race) intermediate between *branco* (white) and *preto* (black).
- Pau a pique**, literally, *sticks on end*: (1) a type of house construction in which puddled earth is spread over a framework of sticks; (2) an alcoholic drink.
- Peneira**, a sieve, usually made of *taquara*.
- Peroba**, a native hardwood, *Aspidosperma* sp.
- Picador**, a pit in which clay is mixed for making brick.
- Picuá**, a cloth sack used for carrying small objects while traveling on horseback or on foot (see pl. 2, f).
- Pilão**, a wooden mortar, made by hollowing out a log (fig. 7).
- Pinga**, the regional slang term for *aguardente*, an alcoholic drink made by fermenting the juice of the sugarcane.
- Pipa**, (1) a wooden container in which clay is stirred with paddles, by means of animal power, during the process of making brick; (2) a cask, usually employed for alcoholic liquors.
- Planalto**, the high plateau which extends over the major portion of the Brazilian interior from near the seacoast to the Paraná and northward to the Amazon Basin.
- Podãozinho**, a tool, similar to the *foice*, except that it is smaller.
- Poiã**, a crude stove (fig. 5).
- Praça**, (1) a public square; (2) a market, or marketing center; (3) the principal nucleus of business houses in a town; (4) a cleared space near fallen timber, on which a *café* is built.
- Prefeito**, the principal administrative officer of the *município*.
- Prenda**, an object donated by a parishioner to be auctioned off at a festival to help pay expenses.
- Preto** (fem., *preta*), literally *black*; a term used to refer to persons of unmixed, or relatively unmixed, African ancestry.
- Promessa**, a vow, made to a *santo*, to perform a specified act in return for the granting of a given request.
- Quentão**, an alcoholic drink, made by adding approximately half as much water to a given quantity of *pinga*, and boiling with sugar and a little ginger and cinnamon.
- Rancho**, a crude shelter for farm produce and similar items, usually located in a field and consisting of a roof of *sapé*, supported on poles.
- Rapadura**, crude brown sugar, in the form of cakes.
- Reboque**, a plaster, made of lime, earth and water.
- Réstia**, two parallel rows of onions braided together so as to be handled easily.
- Reza** (1) a meeting, for prayer and the singing of hymns, held in the village church, at which the *padre* usually officiates; (2) a gathering at a wayside chapel or in a private home, at which one of more *cupelões* repeat and chant prayers.
- Riscador**, a diminutive lister, used to open shallow furrows for planting (fig. 9).
- Roça**, a cultivated patch or field.
- Romaria**, a group pilgrimage made to a famed shrine.
- Rua**, street.
- Saci**, a mythical being, said to have the form of a small, black boy with one leg, to wear a red cap and to be especially mischievous, fond of playing pranks.
- Samba**, a folk dance, employing the *samba* rhythm, which differs considerably from the sophisticated variety known to the cities.
- Santo**, roughly *saint*; the precise content of the term, however, varies somewhat (see section on *Santos*, p. 147).
- Sapé**, a coarse grass, *Imperata brasiliensis*, used for thatching.
- Saúva**, a species of ant (*Atta serdona*).
- Sede**, (1) a seat or headquarters; (2) the central group of buildings on a *fazenda*.
- Seu**, an abbreviation of *Senhor* (Mister).
- Sítio**, a small farm, worked by the owner (or renter) and his family.
- Soldado**, a member of the military police, assigned to the village by the State authorities to assist the *sub-delegado* in maintaining order.
- Sub-delegado**, the law enforcement officer of the *distrito*, under orders of the *delegado*, stationed in the seat of the *município*.
- Sub-prefeito**, the principal administrative officer of the *distrito*, named by, and directly responsible to, the *prefeito*.
- Taipa**, tamped earth.
- Taquara**, a native species of bamboo.
- Tarefa**, a unit of measurement, equivalent to one thirty-second of an *alqueire*.
- Terreiro**, the space around a farmhouse which is kept clear of vegetation.
- Tipiti (tipiti)**, a small, flexible, oval-shaped basket, made of *sapé* and used locally for expelling liquid from a mass of crushed fruit, especially citron.
- Tropa**, (1) a pack train; (2) a band of loose horses, mules, or burros being driven along the road.
- Tropeiro**, the driver of a *tropa*.
- Tucumã**, the fiber from the *tucumã* palm, used locally for weaving fishlines and nets.
- Valo**, a deep ditch, used as a boundary between properties (pl. 11, i).
- Venda**, a store in which a variety of wares are sold, including alcoholic drinks.
- Viola**, a musical instrument, of six strings, similar to the guitar.
- Virada**, the sharing of a common glass of *pinga*, or other drink, on the part of all persons present.
- Virado de feijão**, boiled beans, recooked with manioc or maize meal and lard, and seasoned with onions.
- Xuxu**, a vegetable, *Secchium edule*.







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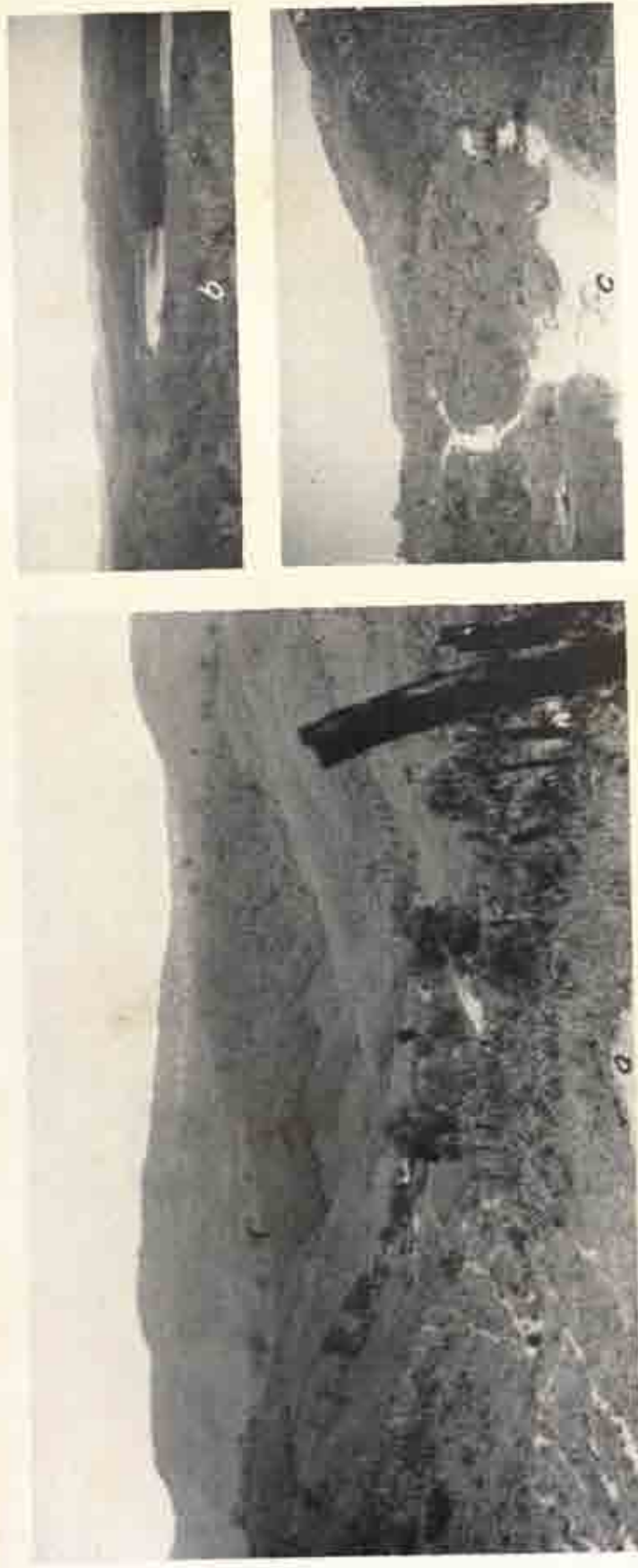


PLATE 1.—Landscape, roads, and paths. *a*, Landscape, showing pasture, timber, and fields; Tarnatund and road in valley. *b*, Tied River and surrounding hills. *c*, Road dividing to reach different farm houses. *d*, Road to Paralinga. *e*, Better road than shown in *d*. *f*, Roadbed cut down by ice and erosion. *g*, Path out to the fields.





a



b



c



d



e



f

PLATE 2.—Village scenes. a, The village, viewed from a nearby hill. b, Village store. c, Part of principal street, the cemetery in distance. d, Batequim; (left to right) customer, village official, owner. e, Square (Praça da Matriz), with church in background. f, Carrying home purchases from a village store.



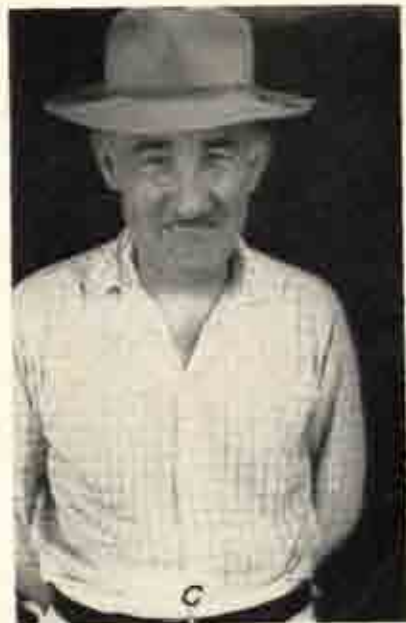


PLATE 3.—Persons, physical types. *a*, Village leader, of Indian and African origin, and European origin. *d*, A *branco*, formerly driver of a pack train. *e*, Negro. *b*, *c*, Village officials, each of Indian and European origin. *f*, Mixed-blood, of Indian, African, and European origin.





PLATE 4.—Persons. *a*, Two farm families, in Sunday dress. *b*, Farm boy. *c*, Farm girl. *d*, Four generations. *e*, Village girls; mother of blond girl (center) is dark mulatto.





PLATE 5.—Persons. a, Village boys, indicating interracial fraternity. b, Girl of Indian-European descent. c, Village boy, a bit *desconfiado* (see section on *Caipira* versus "*Cidadão*"). d, Children at door of village home. e, f, Local men, showing characteristic postures. g, School children, with teachers.





PLATE 6.—House types and construction. *a*, House, made of *pau a pique*, or puddled earth spread over structure of poles and sticks; roof is of *axpe*, a coarse grass. *b*, House of brick, held together with dried mud, with tile roof. *c*, Brick house covered with *reboque* (a kind of plaster) and calcimined in pink, with white trimming. *d*, Large farm dwelling, known as "The Casa Grande"; walls are of *taipa*, or tamped earth, about 2 feet thick; roof is of tile. *e*, Three houses with a common front and roof; windows and doors are of unpainted boards. *f*, Framework of a *pau a pique* house. *g*, Covering framework of *f* with puddled earth. *h*, *Pau a pique* wall after drying.





PLATE 7.—Occupations. a, Hunting (gamo is a small deer). b, Fishing. c, Bringing in broomstick. d, Washing clothes at the creek. e, Carrying water in gasoline tin. f, Taking care of little sister.





PLATE 8.—Occupations. *a*, Roasting meat in the *forno*; to the left of the woman, rolls of tobacco, postle, and *pilão*. *b*, Molding brick. *c*, Building a *cabeira* to make charcoal. *d*, *Olaria*; in the background the kiln; to the left, bricks piled for drying. *e*, Laying brick. *f*, Keeping store.





PLATE 9.—Specialists. *a*, Village bell ringer. *b*, Midwife (left). *c*, *Benzedeira*, or "blesser." *d*, Part-time barber, with friend. *e*, Basket maker, with *coco*, or fish trap. *f*, Learning to be a tinmith. *g*, Village gravedigger.





PLATE 10.—Agriculture. *a*, Clearing the land. *b*, Firewood piled for hauling. *c*, Brush burnt off previous to planting. *d*, Hoe cultivation. *e*, Maize on fertile land. *f*, Maize on a hillside.





PLATE 11.—Agriculture. *a*, Beans growing. *b*, Beans harvested. *c*, Beans being threshed. *d*, Upland rice. *e*, Manioc. *f*, Bananas. *g*, Tobacco. *h*, Onions (in *restas*). *i*, A *vato* to mark boundary of agricultural property.





PLATE 12.—Basketry. *a*, Splitting off strips of *taquara*. *b*, Pounding strips with mallet to make them more pliable. *c*, Beginning the basket. *d*, Weaving the sides. *e*, The *tipiti*, made of *sapé* and used for squeezing excess juice out of citron pulp when making *citrão* (see section on Sugar making). *f*, *Jacá*, or large basket used for transport. *g*, *Jacás* on mule.





PLATE 13.—**Transportation.** *a*, Oxen with oxcart. *b*, *Toquara* matting on oxcart. *c*, Oxcart with wooden wheels and wooden axle. *d*, *Chareta*, or cart for carrying people. *e*, *Carroça*, or cart for carrying produce. *f*, *Carrinho*, for transporting light objects.





PLATE 14.—Transportation. *a*, Family walking and riding in to Mass. *b*, *Cagumba*, for hauling dirt. *c*, Carrying baby brother; technique taken over from Japanese immigrants. *d*, Pack saddle. *e*, The new bus. *f*, Carrying water in a *muringa*.





PLATE 15.—Tools and equipment. *a*, *Engenho* for pressing cane; cogs are of iron. *b*, *Engenho* with wooden cogs (woman is of Italian-white ancestry). *c*, Wooden water wheel at mill for grinding maize. *d*, Plow used locally. *e*, Wooden gate, made without nails. *f*, *Rancho*, or crude shelter erected in a field. *g*, Shelter for charcoal maker.





PLATE 16. — Churches and chapels. a, Village church, with (left) two *masiros*. b, Chapel originally built in seventeenth century and recently restored. c, Image of São Benedito, a Negro saint, with the Infant Jesus. d, Interior of chapel located in countryside near the river. e, Figures in chapel, referred to locally as "Adam" and "Eve." f, Door of village church. g, Wayside chapel, with cross.





PLATE 17.—Ritual, ceremony, and belief. *a*, Procession. *b*, *Padre* under canopy in procession. *c*, Image of *Nossa Senhora da Piedade*, patron saint of the village, being carried in procession. *d*, *Leiloeiro*, or auctioneer at church festas, selling *prendas*, or donations of parishioners. *e*, *Mastro*, with banner of Santo Antonio, set up at farmhouse. *f*, Wayside cross. *g*, *Evangelistas*, or members of Protestant sect, kneeling in prayer. *h*, Baptismal ceremony, *Evangelista* sect.





PLATE 18.—Marriage, baptism, and burial. *a*, Bride and groom at marriage ceremony. *b*, Another bride and groom at church on a rainy day. *c*, Bride and groom leaving village for farm after wedding ceremony, accompanied by relatives and friends. *d*, Funeral procession, led by village padre and assistant. *e*, Family and friends with child, following baptismal ceremony. *f*, Friends throwing dirt on coffin of deceased. *g*, Cemetery.





PLATE 19.—Leisure time activities. *a*, Conversing with friends on a Sunday afternoon. *b*, Village band. *c*, Group of friends, with *violão*, at *botequim*. *d*, Setting off of fireworks (*bateriu*). *e*, Preparing a *churrasco*; sauce made of wine, salt, pepper, and onions is being sprinkled over meat. *f*, Smoking a *pito*, or pipe.





PLATE 20.—Miscellaneous scenes. *a*, Building an *arapaca*, or trap for catching game birds and small animals (boy is sitting *de cócoras*). *b*, Completed *arapaca*. *c*, *Arápaca* set up in cleared spot in timber. *d*, Crib, made of *taquara*, and hung from kitchen rafters. *e*, *Pau*, used for storing produce, especially in dry weather; sides are of *taquara*, roof is of *sape*. *f*, Bathtub, carved from *cedro*, a local species of cedar. *g*, Zebu bull. *h*, "Ant hill," made by termites. *i*, Ox skull, placed in field to protect growing crops from the evil eye.

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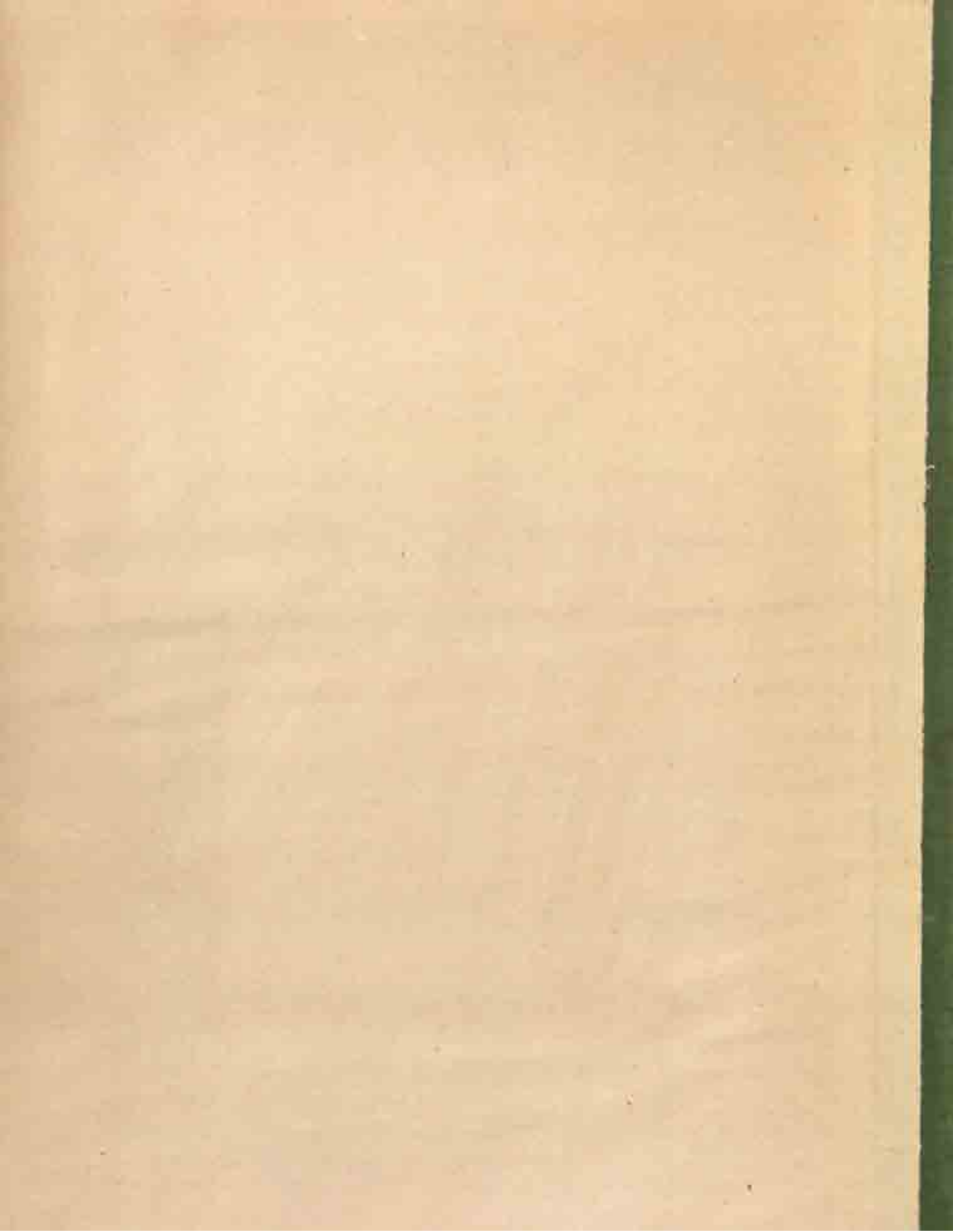
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